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President of Illinois State Historical Society, 1899–1903.

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PUBLICATION NO. 8 OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

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OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1903.

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

SPRINGFIELD, JANUARY 27 AND 28, 1903.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY, 1903.

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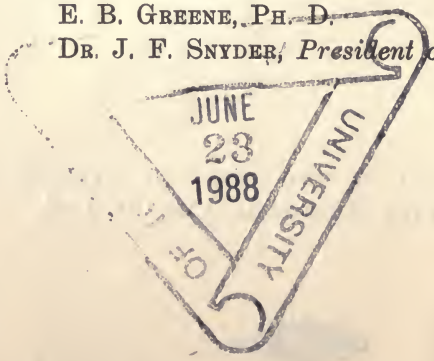


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

List of officers of the Illinois State Historical Society V
List of members of the Illinois State Historical Society VI
Committees of the Illinois State Historical Society II
Constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society VIII
Transactions of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, January 27 and 28, 1903 1
Business meeting 1-5
Committee reports 5-9
Literary sessions 9-125
Program of exercises 10
Address of welcome, Hon. Wm. A. Northcott, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois 11
Response to the address of welcome, Dr. J. F. Snyder, First Vice President of the Illinois State Historical Society 12-15
Annual address, The Constitutional Conventions and Constitutions of Illinois, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson 16-30
The Mines of JoDaviess County, Hon. William Spensley 31-37
Old Fort Massac, Mrs. M. T. Scott 38-64
Men and Manners of the Early Days in Illinois, Dr. A. W. French 65-74
Sectional Forces in the History of Illinois, Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D 75-83
Decisive Events in the Building of Illinois, Hon. William H. Collins 84-96
Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois, Mrs. S. P. Wheeler 97-104
Fort de Chartres, Its Origin, Growth and Decline, Joseph Wallace, M. A 105-117
A Few Notes for an Industrial History of Illinois, Ethelbert Stewart, United States Department of Labor, Chicago 118-121
Necrologist's Report—In Memoriam 122-125
Gen. Elisha B. Hamilton of Quincy 122-123
James Affleck of Belleville, an Honorary Member of the Illinois State Historical Society 124-125
Addendum—Papers Contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society, 1903 128-302
Prairie du Rocher Church Records, with Translation by Rev. C. J. Eschmann 128-149
Travels in Illinois in 1819, by Ferdinand Ernst, Translation by Prof. E. P. Baker of McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill 150-165
The Army Lead by Col. George Rogers Clark in his Conquest of the Illinois, 1778-1779, Notes by Dr. J.F. Snyder 166-178
An Early Illinois Newspaper, Extracts from its Files, by J. H. Burnham 179-189
Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois, Hon. John McLean—Hon. Thomas Sloo—Hon. Charles Slade 190-210
Hon. John McLean, by J. H. Burnham 190-201
Thomas Sloo, by Dr. J. F. Snyder 201-206
Charles Slade, by Dr. J. F. Snyder 207-210
The Attorneys-General of Illinois, Mason H. Newell 211-220
Lincoln in Rushville, 1832-1858, Howard F. Dyson 221-233
Early History of the Drug Trade of Chicago, compiled from the records of the Chicago Veteran Druggists' Association, by Albert E. Ebert, historian 234-274
Jean Cabriel Cerré, a sketch. By Judge Walter B. Douglas 275-288
Report of the Committee on Historic Places in Illinois, Edwin E. Sparks, chairman 289-293
Action of the Illinois members of the Society of Daughters of the American Revolution in relation to the purchase by the State of the site of Old Fort Massac, copy of the bill appropriating money for the purchase of the site of old Fort Massac 294-298
Seventh biennial report to the Governor of the State of Illinois of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library 299-301
Copy of the bill amending the act for the organization of the Illinois State Historical Library, by which the Illinois State Historical Society is made a department of the Illinois State Historical Library 301-302
Errata 303
Index 304

Table of Contents—Concluded.

List of illustrations—

1. Frontispiece. Portrait of H. W. Beckwith, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1899–1903
2. View of the site of old Fort Massac 38
3. Uniform of 42d or Highland Regiment of British troops 46
4. Uniform of officers of U. S. Army 58, 62
5. Map of the Ohio river in the vicinity of Fort Massac 50
6. View of site of old Fort Massac 60
7. Cut of engine and coach used on early railroads of the United States 65
8. The old State House at Springfield 73
9. Edward Coles, second Governor of Illinois 97
10. Last relic of Fort Chartres, 1903 105
11. Gen. E. B. Hamilton 122
12. Gen. George Rogers Clark 166
13. John McLean memorial tablet 190
14. Hon. Thomas Sloo 202
15. Abraham Lincoln in 1858 221
16. Schuyler county court house at Rushville 224
17. The Sauganash hotel, Chicago 234
18. Philo Carpenter, the first druggist in Chicago 258
19. Jean Gabriel Cerré 275
20. Lovejoy monument at Alton 289
21. Chicago Wigwam of 1860 291
22. English Colony House at Albion 292

OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY, 1903—JANUARY, 1904.

President,

J. F. Snyder, Virginia, Ill.

1st Vice President,

H. W. Beckwith, Danville, Ill.

2d Vice President,

Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

3d Vice President,

Wm. Vocke, Chicago, Ill.

Secretary and Treasurer,

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Ill.

Board of Directors,

The President; the Secretary; E. J. James, Ph. D., President Northwestern University, Evanston; Geo. N. Black, Springfield, Ill.; David McCulloch, Peoria, Ill.; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.; M. H. Chamberlin, President McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of the following named local historical societies: Champaign County Historical Society, J. O. Cunningham, President, Urbana, Ill.; Chicago Historical Society, J. N. Jewett, President, Chicago, Ill.; DeKalb County Historical Society; Evanston Historical Society, H. B. Hurd, President, Evanston, Ill.; German American Historical Association, Wm. Vocke, President, Chicago, Ill.; Logan County Historical Society, James T. Hoblit, President, Lincoln, Ill.; McLean County Historical Society, George P. Davis, President, Bloomington, Ill.; Maramech Historical Society, J. F. Steward, President, Chicago, Ill.; Massac County Historical Society, S. B. Kerr, President, Metropolis, Ill.; Old Settlers Historical Association, Randolph County, Frank Moore, President, Chester, Ill.; Quincy Historical Society, Lorenzo Bull, President, Quincy, Ill.; Stillman Valley Battle Monument Association, Lovejoy Johnson, President, Stillman Valley, Ill.

MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

*Boal, Dr. Robert.....Lacon, Ill.
Bradwell, Judge James B.....Chicago, Ill.
Edwards, Mrs. Benjamin S..Springfield, Ill.
Johnson, Hon. Chas. P .....St. Louis, Mo.
*McClernand, Gen. John A...Springfield, Ill.
McClernand, Mrs. John A....Springfield, Ill.
Morrison, Mrs. I. L.....Jacksonville, Ill.
*Palmer, Gen. John M.....Springfield, Ill.
Palmer, Mrs. John M.....Springfield, Ill.
*Ruggles, Gen. James M.....Havana, Ill.
*Stuart, Mrs. John T.....Springfield, Ill.
Thwaites, R. G.....Madison, Wis.
Yates, Mrs. Catherine (Mrs. Richard Yates, Sr.).....Jacksonville, Ill.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

(This list includes all members, including those who have joined the Society since the annual meeting, up to and including August 1, 1903.)

Anderson, Horace G.....Peoria, Ill.
Bangs, J. E.....Springfield. Ill.
Bangs, Margaret M. (Mrs. J. E.)..... ..... Springfield, Ill.
Barker, H. E.....Springfield, Ill.
Barry, Hon. P. T. (life member)..... .....No. 77-79 Jefferson st., Chicago, Ill.
Beckwith, Judge H. W.....Danville, Ill.
Berry, D.....Carmi, Ill.
Black, Geo. N.....Springfield, Ill.
Black, Mrs. Geo. N.....Springfield, Ill.
Blanchard, Rufus.....Wheaton, Ill.
Breevoort, J. H.....Rutland, Ill.
Brown, Hon. C. C.....Springfield, Ill.
Brown, Mrs. C. C.....Springfield, Ill.
Brydges, W. R....227 Division st., Elgin, Ill.
Burnap, Prof. W. L., Lake Forest University.....Lake Forest, Ill.
Burnham, Capt. J. H.....Bloomington, Ill.
Bush, Hon. J. M.....Pittsfield, Ill.
Capen, Chas. L.....Bloomington, Ill.
Carriel, Mrs. Mary Turner (Mrs. H. F.) .....Jacksonville, Ill.
Chamberlin, M. H. (President McKendree College).....Lebanon, Ill.
Clark, Prof. Olynthus.....Eureka, Ill.
Clary, Prof. J. M. (President Greer College) .....Hoopeston, Ill.
Clendenin, Hon. H. W.....Springfield, Ill.
Collins, W. H.....Quincy, Ill.
Congdon, Geo. E.....Waterman, Ill.
Conkling, Hon. Clinton L....Springfield, Ill.
Cook, J. S.....LeRoy, Ill.
Cooper, Hon. John L.....Fairfield, Ill.
Crabbe, Mrs. Harriet Palmer (Mrs. E. G.) .....618 S. 8th st., Springfield, Ill.
Crandon, Frank P ....1414 Forest av., Evanston, Ill.
Cunningham, Judge J. O.....Urbana, Ill.
Curry, J. Seymour.....Evanston, Ill.
Cushing, Prof. J. P.....New Haven, Conn.
Davis, George P.....Bloomington, Ill.
Davis, J. McCan.....Springfield, Ill.
Davis, Mrs. J. McCan.....Springfield, Ill.
Davis, W. W.....Sterling, Ill.
Dearborn, Hon. Luther M..... .....Title and Trust bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Degge, A. R.....Petersburg, Ill.
Dieffenbacher, Philip L.....Havana, Ill.
Dilg, Charles A..... Lake View, 606 Diversy boul., Chicago, Ill.
Dilg, Philip H..... Lake View, 1727 Oakdale av., Chicago, Ill.
Dougherty, N. C.....Peoria, Ill.
Dunn, Mrs. Julia Mills.....Moline, Ill.
Edwards, Dr Richard.....Bloomington. Ill.
Engelmann, Mrs. Mary K .....LaSalle, Ill.
Eschmann, Rev. C. J..Prairie du Rocher, Ill.
Fairbanks, Rev. John B....Jacksonville, Ill.
Faxon, Hon. E. W.....Plano, Ill.
Felmly, Prof. David.....Normal, Ill.
Fisher, Albert Judson (historian Illinois Society Sons of the American Revolution)..... ....No. 604 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.
Forbes, Prof. S. A. (University of Illinois) ..... Urbana. Ill.
French, Dr. A. W .....Springfield, Ill.
Funk, Hon. D. M.....Bloomington, Ill.
Funk, Hon. LaFayette.....Bloomington, Ill.
Garrett, T. M..... .....No 301 Ontario, st., Chicago, Ill.
Gillespie, Mrs. David.....Lincoln, Ill.
Greene, Prof. Evarts B. (University of Illinois) ..... Urbana, Ill.
Gridley, J. N.....Virginia, Ill.
Gross, Lewis M.....Sycamore, Ill.
Gross, W. L.....Springfield, Ill.
Haines, James.....Pekin, Ill.
Hall Henry H..... .....W. College av., Jacksonville, Ill.
Hardy, H. L.....Chicago, Ill.
Hatton, Frederick Hammond..... .....Rock Island, Ill.
Harvick, Arthur L.....Vienna, Ill.
Hay, Logan.....Springfield, Ill.
Heinl, Frank J.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Henderson, Judge John G..... ..No. 416, 417 Roanoke bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Henninger, Prof. J. W.....Macomb, Ill.
*Hood, Dr. H. H .....Litchfield, Ill.
Hood, Mrs. H. H.....Litchfield, Ill.
Hostetter, A. B.....Springfield, Ill.
Houston, J. W.....Berwick, Ill.
James, Dr. Edmund J. (President Northwestern University) .....Evanston, Ill.
James, Prof. J. A. (Northwestern University).....Evanston, Ill.
Jayne, Dr. William .....Springfield, Ill.
Jones, Miss Emma F.....Springfield, Ill.
Kane, Judge Charles P.....Springfield, Ill.
Kepley, Henry B.....Effingham, Ill.

* Deceased.

List of Members—Continued.

Kerrick, Hon. L. H.....Bloomington, Ill.
Kimball, Rev. Clarence.....LaJunta, Colo.
Kirby, Hon. E. P.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Lewis, Hon. Ira W.....Dixon, Ill.
Little, Mrs. Helen. M. J....Bloomington, Ill.
Lodge, William F.....Monticello, Ill.
McAdams, William, Sr.....
.....R. R. No. 13, Kansas, Edgar Co., Ill.
Manny, Walter I .....Mt. Sterling, Ill.
Marmon, Mrs. W. W.....Bloomington, Ill.
McConnel, G. M. (Chicago Chronicle)
.....Chicago, Ill.
McCormick, Prof. Henry (Normal University) .....Normal, Ill.
McCulloch, Judge David.....Peoria, Ill.
McPike, H. G .....Alton, Ill.
Meese, Hon. William A.....Moline, Ill.
Merritt, Hon. E. L.....Springfield, Ill.
Mills, Richard W.....Virginia, Ill.
Miner. Dr. James.....Winchester, Ill.
Moss, John R.....Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Norton, W. F.....Alton, Ill.
Orendorff, Hon. Alfred.....Springfield, Ill.
Orendorff, Hon. John B....Bloomington, Ill.
Osborne, Miss Georgia L.....
.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Page, Prof. E. C. (Normal School).....
.....DeKalb, Ill.
*Palmer, Hon. John Mayo.....Chicago, Ill,
Palmer, Mrs. John Mayo.....Chicago, Ill.
Parker, C. M.....Taylorville, Ill.
Pearson, J. M .....Godfrey, Ill.
Perrin, Hon. J. N.....Lebanon, Ill.
Primm, Enoch W.....Belleville, Ill.
Pierce, Frederick C. (vice president and secretary Sherman Historical Association.....P. O. box No. 244, Chicago, Ill.
Pitner, Dr. T. J.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Prince, Ezra M.....Bloomington, Ill.
Putnam, Prof. J. W. (Cornell University)
.....Madison, Wis.
Quincy Historical Society.....Quincy, Ill.
Roosa, Mrs. S. V.....Springfield, Ill.
Sayler, H. L.....
.....No. 138 Jackson boul., Chicago, Ill.
Sanders, Col. George A.....Springfield, Ill.
Sattley, Miss Olive.....Springfield, Ill.
Schmitt, Dr. Otto L.....
.....No. 3328 Michigan av., Chicago, Ill.
Scott, Edgar S.....Springfield, Ill.
Scott, Julia Green (Mrs. M. T.).....
.....Bloomington, Ill.
Selby, Paul.....Chicago, Ill.
Sheets, J. M.....Oblong, Ill.
Sheppard, Prof. R. D. (Northwestern University).....Evanston, Ill.
Smith, Col. D. C.....Normal, Ill.
Smith, George W. (Southern Illinois Normal University).....Carbondale, Ill.
Snively, Hon. E. A.....Springfield, Ill.
Snively, Katherine Dubois (Mrs. E. A.)
.....Springfield, Ill.
Snyder, Dr. J. F.....Virginia, Ill.
Sparks, Prof. E. E. (University of Chicago).....Chicago, Ill.
Spear, S. L.....Springfield, Ill.
Stearns, Arthur K.....
...No. 112-114 Genesee st., Waukegan, Ill.
Stennett, Dr. W. H.....No. 303 Linden av., Oak Park, Cook, Co., Ill.
Stevens, F. E.....No. 1205 Chamber of Commerce bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Steward, John F.....
.....No. 1889 Sheridan road., Chicago, Ill.
Stubblefield, Hon. Geo. W..Bloomington, Ill.
*Stuve, Dr. Bernard.....
.....No. 526 S. 7th st., Springfield, Ill.
Taylor, Mrs. Harriet Rumsey, LaGrange, Ill.
Thayer, Miss Maude.....Springfield, Ill.
Tomlin, Mrs. Eliza. I. H.....
.....No. 904 S. Main st., Jacksonville, Ill.
Vocke, Hon. William (president German-American Historical Society).....
....No. 103-109 Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Waite, Dr. H. N.....Johnson, Vermont.
Wallace, Joseph.....Springfield, Ill.
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer..Springfield, Ill.
Wertz, Miss Adda. P.....Carbondale, Ill.
West, Hon. Simeon H.....Leroy, Ill.
Wheeler, Mrs. Katherine Goss (Mrs. S. P.).....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, Judge S. P.....Springfield, Ill.
Wheeler, C. Gilbert.....
.....No. 14 State st., Chicago, Ill.
Wightman, G. F.....Lacon, Ill.
Wiles, Alice Bradford (Mrs. Robert H.)
.....No. 5711 Woodlawn av., Chicago, Ill.
Willcox, E. S.....Peoria, Ill.
Worthington, Hon. Thomas.....
.....Jacksonville, Ill.
Worthington, Miriam Morrison (Mrs. Thomas).....Jacksonville, Ill.
Wyckoff, Dr. Charles T. Bradley Polytechnic Institute).....Peoria, Ill.

* Deceased.

CONSTITUTION ILLINOIS STATE HISTORTICAL SOCIETY.

(Organized June, 1899; Incorporated May, 1900, made a Department of the Illinois State Historical Library, July 1, 1903.)

CONSTITUTION.

Article I. Name and Objects.

Sec. 1. The name of this society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Sec. 2. The objects to be sought by this society shall be:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State, and of each county thereof, including the prehistoric periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions, as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, libraries, museums, monies and real property and other property in aid of the above objects.

Article II. Membership.

Sec. 1. Any person may become an active member of the society on payment of the initiation fee of $1.

Sec. 2. The annual fee for active members shall be $1.

Sec. 3. Any person eligible for active membership may become a life member on payment of a fee of $25. Life members shall be exempt from the payment of annual membership fees.

Sec. 4. Honorary membership may be conferred upon any person who has distinguished himself or herself by services or contributions to the society or the cause of history, upon the nomination of the president and confirmation by the board of directors.

Article III. Meetings.

Sec. 1. The annual meeting of the society shall be held at such time and place in the month of January as may be designated by the board of directors.

Sec. 2. Special meetings may be called by the president.

Sec. 3. At any meeting of the society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

Article IV. Officers.

Sec. 1. The officers of the society shall be a president, such vice presidents as may be deemed best by the society, a secretary, a historian, a treasurer, and a board of directors consisting of the president, the secretary and five other members of the society.

Sec. 2. All of the officers of the society shall be elected by ballot, annually, at the regular annual meeting in January, except that the society may designate particular officers to be elected for an indeterminate period.

Sec. 3. The duties of the president, the vice presidents and the secretary and the treasurer shall be those usually appertaining to such officers. The secretary shall also act as secretary to the board of directors. It shall be the duty of the board of directors to prepare the programmes for the annual meetings of the society and to perform such other functions as may from time to time be entrusted to it by the society.

Sec. 4. The board of directors shall at each annual meeting present through the secretary a report of the finances of the society, and on its work during the preceding year, together with such recommendations as may seem to them appropriate.

Article V. Board of Directors.

Sec. 1. The board of directors shall have general charge and control of all the property of the society, shall make and approve all its contracts, shall direct the librarian in the selection and purchase of books and other historical matter, shall see to the carrying out of all orders of the society and shall perform all duties prescribed by the by-laws.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Fourth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society Jan. 27 and 28, 1903, State Library Room, Capitol Building, Springfield.

BUSINESS MEETING.

Tuesday, Jan. 27, 10:00 a. m.

Vice President J. F. Snyder in the chair, in the absence of President H. W. Beckwith. The secretary made a verbal report, and asked further time to prepare a report for the records of the society. On motion of M. H. Chamberlin, seconded by George N. Black, the secretary's report was accepted and approved.

J. H. Burnham, chairman of the committee on local historical Societies read the report of that committee. On motion of George N. Black the report was approved and accepted.

Mr. George N. Black, chairman of the committee on legislation, asked that that committee be allowed further time, before making its report. Dr. Chamberlin moved that further time be granted. Dr. Chamberlin's motion was carried.

The St. Louis Exposition Committee report was called for by the presiding officer. Dr. E. J. James, chairman of the committee, being absent, the report of the committee was read by J. H. Burnham. Adopted and approved.

Captain Burnham read a personal report of his visits to the historical societies of Wisconsin and Indiana, and of the meeting at Urbana of the sub-committee of the Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Exposition at St. Louis.

Dr. Chamberlin moved that discussion on this report be allowed, motion seconded by Dr. William Jayne, carried. Dr. Chamberlin moved seconded by Dr. Jayne, that the thanks of the society be tendered Captain Burnham for his efforts in behalf of the society in thus traveling to other states in its interests, and for his able and instructive report of his visits, carried. George N. Black, chairman of the finance committee, read the report of that committee. The report was approved and accepted.

The report of the committee appointed by the president to attend the ceremonies attendant upon the installation of Dr. E. J. James as

president of the Northwestern University at Evanston, Oct. 19, 1902, was read by the secretary. It was moved by Mr. Black and seconded by Dr. Chamberlin that this report be accepted and placed on file in the records of the society. Adopted. (N. B. The report is in the form of a letter from Prof. E. C. Page of De Kalb, Ill.)

The secretary read an invitation to the society and its individual members to attend a meeting of the Chicago Historical society Jan. 29, 1903. Dr. Chamberlin moved that the thanks of this society be sent to the Chicago Historical society for the invitation, and that the Chicago Historical society be asked to present this society with copies of the addresses delivered at the meeting.

The secretary read a letter from L. R. Bryant of Princeton, representing the Bureau County, Illinois, Old Settlers' association, suggesting co-operation with the State Historical society and asking suggestions. Discussion followed the reading of this letter. Captain Burnham moved that a greeting and thanks be sent the society, through Mr. Bryant. Carried.

Dr. J. F. Snyder, acting president and chairman, called Dr. A. W. French to the chair.

Dr. Snyder addressed the society on the subject of an amendment to the Constitution of the society. It was suggested that in the absence of Judge David McCulloch, chairman of the Committee on By-Laws, that the matter of the amendment be continued, etc. This suggestion put in the form of a motion by Dr. Chamberlin was offered, seconded and carried. Moved that the Committee on By-Laws and matters connected with it be continued. Carried.

Mr. Burnham made a motion that 30 days' notice to the members of the society be necessary in cases where amendments to the Constitution are contemplated. This motion was carried and such 30 days' notice to the members of the society is now necessary before an amendment to the Constitution can be voted upon by the society.

Dr. Snyder, chairman of the Program committee read the report of that committee. On motion of Dr. Chamberlin, seconded by Mr. Black, the report was approved and adopted.

Necrologist's report. Dr. Snyder read memorial addresses on deceased members Gen. E. B. Hamilton of Quincy and James Affleck of Belleville. These memorial addresses were on motion of Mr. George N. Black, seconded by Dr. Jayne, accepted by thesociety, and the secretary directed to place them in the records, and publish them in the transactions of the society.

Dr. Snyder read resolutions of sympathy for Judge David McCulloch in his recent bereavements. These resolutions were on motion of Mr. Black, adopted by a rising vote, and the secretary was directed to forward to Judge McCulloch a copy of the resolutions.

An expression of sympathy by the Illinois State Historical society for Hon. David McCulloch, a member of its Board of Directors.

We have learned, with the deepest regret of the sad bereavement of our much esteemed associate, Judge David McCulloch, of Peoria, by the recent death of his only daughter and his wife.

The cherished child who had filled his home with the sunlight of joy and love; the beloved wife, Mrs. Mary Hemphill McCulloch, whose gentle, faithful and inspiring companionship throughout his prominent career cheered him in adversity and rejoiced in his triumph; the angelic friend of the needy and distressed; respected and revered by the entire community for her exalted virtues, her piety, generous kindness and benevolence,—were, within the space of a few weeks, when in the enjoyment of health and all the comforts and happiness of life, stricken down, and after brief illness, taken from him and consigned to the grave.

In the presence of such an overpowering affliction mere words can afford no consolation; nor avail in the least to remove the great burden of grief—human efforts are powerless to dispel the gloom of its sorrow. Yet, the dictates of friendship and duty, and the high regard and esteem we entertain for our honored fellow-member of the Illinois State Historical society impel us to extend to him, in his unspeakable loss, assurance of our profound sympathy, and sincere expressions of our heartfelt condolence.

Captain Burnham made a motion that discussion on papers and addresses be left to the discretion of the presiding officer.

Dr. B. Stuvé moved an amendment to the motion before the society, (Burnham's.) that the author or the person who reads the paper, or any member of the society may ask a discussion of the paper.

Dr. A. W. French objected to any discussion or criticism of papers. The vote being put, Captain Burnham's original motion (the discretion of the presiding officer) was carried by a rising vote, 5 for the original motion, 2 for the motion as amended.

It being announced that President H. W. Beckwith positively declined re-election; Dr. M. H. Chamberlin read resolutions of appreciation of the services to the society of Judge Beckwith, and its thanks to him for them. Doctor Chamberlin moved, seconded by Mr. Black, that these resolutions be spread on the records of the society, and that the secretary be directed to send a copy of them to Judge Beckwith. Carried by a rising vote.

GREETING AND RESOLUTION OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM FOR H. W. BECKWITH.

The State Historical Society of Illinois holds in profound esteem the eminent services of Judge H. W. Beckwith, who for the past four years—commencing with the origin of the society—has been its efficient president. Its members regret that his failing health should prove the cause of his refusal to stand for re-election.

His eminent services to the State, his conspicuous efforts in behalf of the State Historical Library, his exemplary life as a citizen, call for unqualified esteem and admiration, and as evidence of the profound regard in which he is held by this association we recommend that this testimonial be adopted by a rising vote; and that the same be spread on the record of the proceedings of this meeting.

Adopted by a rising vote.

Doctor Chamberlin moved the acceptance by the society of an invitation to a reception to be tendered it on Wednesday, Jan. 28, 8:00 p. m., by Governor and Mrs. Richard Yates. Carried.

Doctor Snyder, in the chair, named Messrs. Burnham, Black, Chamberlin and Jayne as a committee to nominate officers for the following year, Jan. 1903 to Jan. 1904. Mr. Burnham declined to act and the name of J. McCan Davis was added to the committee. The committee retired.

During the absence of the Nominating committee Capt. J. H. Burnham made some remarks explanatory as to the situation of the Louisiana Purchase Commission, as to amount of funds, uses of same, requests for it, etc., and the plans of the society in asking future appropriations, etc., from the commission.

Mr. H. E. Barker moved that a committee of the society be appointed to solicit donations and loans to be exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Carried.

Capt. J. H. Burnham extended an urgent invitation to the society to hold its next annual meeting, January, 1904, at Bloomington, Ills. Referred to board of directors.

Dr. A. W. French moved that papers read at annual meetings of the society and not in the hands of the secretary within 60 days following the reading of the same, be published at the discretion of the secretary. Carried.

The Nominating committee made its report of the following persons for officers of the society, January, 1903 to January, 1904:

President—J. F. Snyder, Virginia.

1st Vice President—H. W. Beckwith, Danville.

2nd Vice President—E. B. Greene, Urbana.

3rd Vice President—Hon. Wm. Vocke, Chicago.

Secretary and Treasurer—Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.

Board of Directors—E. J. James, Geo. N. Black, David McCulloch, J. H. Burnham, M. H. Chamberlin (the president, the secretary.)

Report signed,

WM. JAYNE,
M. H. CHAMBERLIN,
J. MCCAN DAVIS.

On motion of Mr. H. E. Barker the secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the society for the above named persons which he did, and the persons named by the nominating committee were declared elected.

Captain Burnham moved that the presidents of local historical societies be honorary vice presidents of the society. This motion was carried, and Mr. Geo. P. Davis, President McLean County Historical Society; Mr. J F. Steward, President Maramech Historical Society; Hon. John M. Jewett, President Chicago Historical Society; Hon. Harvey B. Hurd, President Evanston Historical Society (and others, names to be supplied) be made honorary vice presidents of the society.

Mr. Black moved that: This society desires to express to its retiring secretary, Mr. J. McCan Davis, its appreciation of his labors in behalf of the society during the past year, and to thank him for them. This motion was seconded by Dr. Wm. Jayne and adopted by a rising vote.

On motion of Doctor Chamberlin the meeting adjourned at 12:15 p. m., to meet in literary session at 2:00 p. m.

COMMITTEE REPORTS.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION COMMITTEE.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.

At our last annual meeting it was suggested that our society endeavor to assist the Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, in decorating the Illinois Building, by introducing paintings of historic landscapes, portraits of our great men and women, photographs of State and county monuments, pre historic collections and various historical illustrations.

At a later meeting of the board a committee was appointed to confer with the commission. This committee consisted of H. W. Beckwith, Prof. E. J. James, Dr. J. F. Snyder, George N. Black and J. H. Burnham, with power to act for the whole board of Directors.

The entire committee, with one exception, met the members of the Illinois Commission at the Leland hotel in September, and presented a brief outline of the proposition, which was very favorably received by the commission. Want of time prevented immediate action, but the matter was informally turned over to the education and decoration committees.

Thus far this may be considered as a report of the progress made by the above mentioned committee, but something further should be presented, mainly in the nature of my personal report.

For the purpose of perfecting our knowledge of what is most desirable for a State Historical Society to possess as an historical museum, I was requested to visit some of the State societies of neighboring states, in order to be prepared to make a report to the directors, to be used as a basis for future action. I therefore visited the State Historical Society at Indianapolis, and the State Museum, Library and Society at Madison, Wis. As a result of these visits, I have gathered many ideas concerning what I conceive to be proper objects and subjects for our society to pursue and study, but as the enumeration of these matters would consume much time it has hardly seemed to me desirable here to attempt to do full justice to the whole matter. At another time this can be done, and a more definite statement than the present can be made in regard to the Louisiana Purchase project.

After my visit to these societies, I was invited to meet at the State University at Urbana, on December 13th, with the Education Committee of the State Commission. Several of the leading educators of this State were also present. It was learned that of the $250,000 appropriated by the State, $100,000 are set apart for the construction, decoration, care and maintenance of the Illinois building, and $150,000 for educational, agricultural, horticultural, mechanical and all other exhibits of the State, to be shown in various appropriate parts of the exposition grounds.

Our plans were set forth to the committee by a written statement from Professor James, one of our committee, with a very brief oral addition from myself and they were very well received by the members of the Educational Committee present. But inasmuch as our plans contemplate assisting the

committee mainly by decoration of the building with maps, oil paintings and photographs, busts, and portraits, together with antiquarian and prehistoric relics, and so forth, it appeared that the decoration instead of the education committee would be most interested in our proposed work.

I saw at the architect's office in Chicago, the plans which have been adopted by the commission for the Illinois building, and a contract will soon be let for its construction. From all I can learn, the cost of this building will absorb all or more than the money set apart for its construction and decoration, but I found it was considered advisable to make an application for $10,000 of this amount for our use, with the distinct understanding, however, that when the Committee on Decoration holds its meeting our application may be considered as being most appropriately in their department.

It also appears to be the general opinion that the State of Illinois will need much more than a quarter of a million, in order to make an adequate display at St. Louis, and that the Legislature will be called upon to make a much larger appropriation, and that if this is done, an itemized application will be made, in which application a very generous sum should be set apart for the objects advocated by our society.

It is therefore possible that we may have some reasonable share in the work, even if no additional appropriation is made, while if more money is allowed, our prospects are sufficiently promising to warrant this Board of Directors in following up the same line of action we have hitherto pursued.

Our plans and objects have been well advertised through the press, and from letters received by myself, I feel satisfied that there is a very satisfactory public sentiment already aroused in our behalf, and that the way is open before us, if we are able to follow it, to carry our plans to a successful result.

In conclusion, I wish to suggest that as we are at present organized, it appears to me almost impossible to go much farther as we are now proceeding, and that we must soon make more definite and reliable arrangements than we have at present, and place the care and management of this work in the hands of some competent person who can take all the time needed to study the subject, attend meetings of the Commission and of committees, and be fully prepared to follow out the aims of the society, through all the changing intricacies of the future. Whenever this may be done, or whenever the directors may require it, I can soon be prepared with further details of what it has seemed to me desirable for us to attempt to accomplish.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

Inasmuch as the Illinois State Historical Society is totally destitute of funds to defray the cost of printing, the accumulated results of its labors; and is wholly indebted for the publishing of its annual *Transactions* to the courtesy and liberality of the board of trustees of the State Historical Library —said *Transactions* appearing when issued as publications of that board— your Committee on Publication necessarily has but a meagre report to offer.

However, although relieved of all connection with, and responsibility for, the mechanical execution of our only publication of the past year, the 1902 Transactions of the Society, your committee found ample employment in collecting and properly arranging the various papers it contains and securing the illustrations accompanying them.

The State Historical Society, in its brief existence, has compiled three volumes of annual Transactions, and your committee "points with pride" to the fact that each volume exhibits a marked improvement, in quantity of matter and its arrangement, upon the one preceding it—a fact, however, evincing progress and growth of the society and enlargement of its sphere of work, rather than increased efficiency of any means at the disposal of your committee.

The octavo form of the volume was adopted to correspond with that of the preceding publications of the State Historical Library; and the main portion of its contents comprises, in regular order, the proceedings of the last

annual meeting of the society, held in Jacksonville on the 23d and 24th of January, 1902. The "Addendum" department introduced in the volume is a valuable addition, enabling us to present to the public original contributions to Illinois history not before published, obtained from various sources. We would recommend special attention to be given in future to this department, and its enlargement with increased facilities for publishing our annual volumes hereafter.

The "In Memoriam" papers, eulogistic of deceased members, should hereafter be placed in a defined "Necrological department" of annual volumes for biographical notices, more or less extended, of members of this society, and of old pioneers of our State, who have departed this life since the last preceding annual meeting. The management of this suggested department should be entrusted to a special officer, provided for by our Constitution, to be known as the Historian of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Your committee regrets exceedingly the unreasonable delay in the publication of our *Transactions*, and most earnestly condemn the small style of type employed in printing them; but under present conditions these grave shortcomings are entirely beyond our control; and we can only hope—and pray—that the General Assembly will, in the fulness of its wisdom, relieve the State Historical Society from its present situation of helpless dependence.

The portrait cuts and maps we have introduced in our latest volume is, we hope, an improvement that will be appreciated; and we doubt not, will be continued, and more fully amplified, in succeeding annual volumes.

To Hon. Charles Aldrich, secretary of the Iowa Department of History, to Mr. John A. Atwood, editor of the *Stillman Valley Times*, to the Wisconsin Historical Department, and to Mr. John F. Steward, of Chicago, your committee is greatly indebted for the kindly loan of electrotypes. And for indexing, proof reading and general superintendence of publishing the recently issued volumes of 1902 *Transactions*, the society is under lasting obligations to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library, and her assistant, Miss Georgia L. Osborne.

J. F. SNYDER, Chairman,
J. H. BUNHAM,
J. MCCAN DAVIS,
Committee on Publication.

Springfield, Ills., Jan. 27, 1903.

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE.

Your Committee on Program respectfully submits its report for the past year, as follows:

Owing to its constitution requiring the regular annual meetings of the Illinois State Historical Society to be held in midwinter, when the weather is usually unpleasant and traveling the most disagreeable; at that time also, when our senators and representatives in Congress, and other government officials, are engaged at the national Capitol, and when teachers in the universities, colleges and other educational institutions of the State are employed with their routine duties which they cannot neglect, we have been unable to secure the presence and active co-operation at the society's annual meetings of a number of prominent citizens who would willingly and gladly contribute to our *Transactions* the results of their historical researches and labors, were our meetings held at the time of their vacations, in the milder seasons of the year.

In preparing the program of exercises for this meeting we extended invitations to several persons, profoundly learned in Illinois history and biography, to favor us with papers or addresses appropriate to the occasion; and those invitations were with few exception, courteously accepted; but after the lapse of some weeks, several of their recipients found, that for reasons above named, it would be impracticable for them to fulfill their promises, and—much to our regret and disappointment—cancelled their engagements, when

too late to supply their places with others. Quite a number, however, who signified their acceptance of our invitations, in compliance therewith—as is seen by our printed programs—will present to the meeting their much-prized contributions.

In view of the fact that those ladies and gentlemen who kindly render to our society such valuable assistance, do so without compensation and at their own expense and loss of time, your committee would suggest—as a graceful acknowledgement—the society will testify to each, by written letter, or by an earnest expression of gratitude, by resolution or otherwise in open meeting, our high appreciation of their services.

For the musical feature of our program of exercises the society is indebted to the ladies of Springfield, who, with their characteristic elegant taste, and kindness, arranged it to enhance the interest and attractiveness of the meeting.

A question has arisen in this committee of the propriety of varying the arrangement of exercises of our annual meetings from the course hertofore pursued, by inviting general oral discussion of the subject treated of by each speaker or reader, immediately following said papers and addresses. And upon that question your committee is divided. While one, of the three composing the committee, is earnestly favorable to this innovation, another member dissents, for the reason that—in his opinion—no discussion of that kind can be entirely free from some element of criticism; and that anything savoring of criticism of a paper or address, voluntarily and gratuitously contributed to the society in open meeting, and in the presence of the author of the paper or address, would be in exceeding bad taste, if not positively reprehensible. As this question has before been mentioned in the society, or Executive Board, meetings, it is now alluded to in this report that it may be duly considered by the present business meeting, if such action is thought to be expedient or necessary.

In closing this report your committee begs leave to call the society's attention to the last exercise of our program, the cordial invitation you have received from Governor Yates—the first native born son of Illinois called by its people to the exalted position he now occupies, whose earnest interest in the welfare and success of our society has often been manifested—to attend his proffered reception at the Excutive mansion on tomorrow evening, the 28th inst.

J. F. Snyder, Chairman,
J. H. Burnham,
J. McCan Davis,

Committee.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Bloomington, Ill., Jan. 13, 1903.

To the Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Local Historical Societies was appointed late in the year, at the September meeting, and we have made but little effort in the line of our duty.

In the month of October a county historical society was organized at Pittsfield, Pike county. We have had correspondence with parties at Eureka, Woodford county, where the preliminary steps were taken a few days ago to form an organization, and we have been informed that at Princeton, Bureau county, and also at Edwardsville, Madison county, it is probable that societies will soon be organized and we are hoping to hear good reports from other localities.

We believe there are already almost as many historical societies in Illinois as are to be found in any of the adjoining states.

Of societies in cities, we can refer to one in Chicago, one in Evanston, one in Rockford, one in Elgin and one in Quincy.

Of county societies we have had reported from first to last the following: Champaign, DeKalb, Jersey, Kendall, Logan, Pike and McLean.

We believe if there is a general revival of interest this year in the work of the State Historical Society, that the societies already in existence will be of great assistance to the State society, and that our society can very readily be the means, if proper exertions are made, of calling into existence several more influential local societies.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

J. H. BURNHAM,
J. O. CUNNINGHAM,
J. MCCAN DAVIS,

Committee on Local Historical Societies.

LITERARY SESSION—2:00 P. M.

SPRINGFIELD, Jan. 28, 1903.

The literary sessions were carried out according to the printed program, except that in the absence of President H. W. Beckwith, the response to Lieutenant Governor Northcott's address of welcome was delivered by Dr. J. F. Snyder, first vice president of the society; and on account of the absence of Prof. E. B. Greene and Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, their papers were read by Capt. J. H. Burnham. In the afternoon session Prof. E. B. Sparks asked permission to deliver a few remarks on the necessity for marking historic spots in Illinois. The permission was granted, and he delivered a brief address in which he made the suggestion that a committee of the society be appointed to report what has been done to mark historic spots in the State, and to suggest means by which the custom might be made general, or at least to aid in extending the building of such monuments. It was moved by Mr. H. E. Barker that the president appoint such a committee, the motion was seconded and carried.

The president named as the committee for marking historic sites in Illinois, Prof. E. B. Sparks, Chicago, chairman; Mrs. Thos. Worthington, Jacksonville; Mrs. Helen M. J. Little, Bloomington; Dr. Wm. Jayne, Springfield; J. McCan Davis, Springfield.

At the close of the afternoon literary session, Hon. C. P. Kane moved that the thanks of the society be extended to the speakers for the most able, instructive, and entertaining addresses delivered before the society; to the young ladies who furnished beautiful music at the sessions, Mrs. Robert Jess, Miss Laura Fisher and Miss Mary Tiffany, and to Gov. and Mrs. Richard Yates for their hospitality in inviting the society to a reception at the Executive masion, and to the committee of Springfield ladies, who as a Reception committee added comfort and pleasure. Carried by a rising vote.

The evening session of Jan. 27, 1903, was held in the Supreme Court room.

The reception given to the society Jan. 28, 1903, by Governor and Mrs. Yates was held at the Executive mansion. Governor and Mrs. Yates were assisted in receiving the guests by Dr. J. F. Snyder, the newly elected president of the society, and by the ladies of the reception committee.

The county judges of the State being in session in the city paid their respects to the Governor and Mrs. Yates, by calling at the mansion the same evening.

PROGRAM OF EXERCISES.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27, 10:00 A. M.

Business meeting of the society, secretary's report, reports of committees, election of officers for 1903; miscellaneous business.

2:00 p. m.

"The Mines of Jo Daviess County".....Hon. Wm. Spensley, Galena
Music.
"Old Fort Massac".....Mrs. M. T. Scott, Bloomington

8:00 p. m.

Music.
"Address of Welcome".....
.....Hon. W. A. Northcott, Greenville, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois
Response.....Hon. H. W. Beckwith, Danville, president of the society
Annual Address, "The Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions of Illinois".....Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Bloomington

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28, 9:30 A. M.

"Men and Manners of the Early Times of Illinois".....
.....Dr. A. W. French, Springfield
Music.
"Sectional Forces in the History of Illinois, 1818-1865,".....
.....Prof. E. B. Greene, University of Illinois
"Decisive Events in the Building of Illinois".....W. H. Collins, Quincy

2:00 p. m.

"Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois"..Mrs. S. P. Wheeler, Springfield
"Fort Chartres".....Joseph Wallace, Springfield
Music.
"A Few Notes for an Industrial History of Illinois".....
.....Ethelbert Stewart, U. S. Department of Labor, Chicago

8:00 p. m.

Reception at the Executive Mansion by Governor and Mrs. Yates.

Reception Committee—Mrs. John M. Palmer, Mrs. John A. McClernand, Mrs. John R. Tanner, Mrs. Wm. A. Northcott, Mrs. George N. Black, Mrs. S. P. Wheeler, Mrs. C. C. Brown, Mrs. Alfred Orendorff, Mrs. Clinton L. Conkling, Mrs. Wm. L. Gross, Mrs. E. G. Crabbe, Mrs. Wm. S. Jayne, Mrs. Charles P. Kane, Mrs. George A. Sanders, Mrs. E. A. Snively, Mrs. J. McCan Davis, Mrs. Thomas Worthington, Mrs. Logan Hay, Mrs. Joseph Wallace, Mrs. Edgar S. Scott, Miss Emma F. Jones, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Miss Mollie C. Stuve, Miss Effie French, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Miss Maude Thayer, Miss Susie Merritt.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By Hon. W. A. Northcott, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

It affords me much pleasure, at the request of Governor Yates and as the representative of the chief executive of Illinois, to welcome to the capital city the members of the Illinois State Historical Society. This official welcome is due you because of the great work you have accomplished in preserving so much of the traditions and early history of this State which has not yet found its way into print.

There have been two great epochs in the history of the American republic. The first was the nation's building epoch, and had for its central figure George Washington. The second was the nation's preserving epoch, and had for its central figure Abraham Lincoln.

Nations are not built; they grow. In the beginning of the republic our forefathers left two great questions for future generations to solve, and the discussion of these questions moulded the bullets that were fired in the war of 1861.

The first of these great questions found an early expression in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, inspired, and probably actually written, by Thomas Jefferson, and which enunciated the doctrine that the right of the state was above the right of the federation. John C. Calhoun, the disciple of Jefferson, continued the contest on this idea of state sovereignty and joined with it the other great unsolved question of human slavery. This contest brought into action the masterly eloquence of Daniel Webster, whose defense of the federal government will always be a part of our national history; and it found its most dramatic incident when Andrew Jackson raised his right arm and swore "by the eternal" that the right of the federation was above the right of the State.

The storm that had been gathering for more than half a century threw its first shadow on Illinois soil, and at Alton, Elijah P. Lovejoy died the death of a martyr to the great cause of human liberty. The man of this second great epoch came to the front in his great debates with Stephen A. Douglas, and the martyrdom of Lovejoy found expression in the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln.

The history of Illinois forms the most important part of this great epoch. The man of its ideas was Abraham Lincoln; the man of its armies was Grant.

As early as the election of Governor Coles, away back in the 20s, Illinois came to the front with its verdict in opposition to human slavery upon these broad prairies, and from that day until the emancipation proclamation, Illinois led in this great battle for human rights.

Representing as you do the preservation of the history of such a State, your mission is indeed a great one, and you have the best wishes and cooperation of the good people of Illinois.

RESPONSE OF DR. J. F. SNYDER.

GOVERNOR NORTHCOTT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN--In the absence of Judge Beckwith, the retiring president of the Illinois State Historical Society, it devolves upon me, the vice president, to attempt to express, in behalf of the members of our society, the gratification and pleasure afforded us by the flattering welcome tendered us this evening.

We accept this cordial welcome to the State's Capital, so gracefully and eloquently extended to us, as evidence that our diligent efforts are appreciated by the public, and assure you that it can not fail to inspire us with renewed zeal in the prosecution of the important purposes we have in view.

I will here remark that we are also truly thankful for the uniform kindness and consideration accorded us, while engaged in our self-imposed labors, by the citizens of Springfield, and for the courteous attention and assistance we have invariably received from the State officials.

Though but a feeble and inadequate expression of the fervor of our gratitude, this brief, but heartfelt, response to Governor Northcott's elegant address is perhaps all that propriety would dictate should be said on this occasion by a representative of the State Historical Society. Yet the interests of that society seem to demand, in addition to our grateful acknowledgements, a public reiteration of the object and intention of its organization and continued maintenance.

The benefit that the people of Illinois may derive from the results of our investigations—alluded to in such complimentary terms by the eminent speaker who has just addressed us—may not be apparent to all. Many intelligent persons who have given the study of history but little, if any, serious thought, fail to detect anything in it of tangible or practical value. To that class a State Historical Society seems but a mode of harmless diversion for a few fossilized scholars who dwell in the past, and of no utility to the people at large. Why, they ask, waste precious time in delving in the musty, lifeless long ago, when the stirring, all-important activities of the strenuous present have so many pressing demands upon every moment of our fleeting days?

To them the dead past has buried its dead, and they can discern no material good to be derived from their resurrection. But to those who permit their minds to transcend the exactions of necessary daily pursuits, history has a peculiar charm. To them it is not merely a record of past events, and dry statistics, and necrological reports. It is much more than that.

It deals with the actions and deeds of men and communities that have been instrumental in shaping and guiding the destinies of states and empires. It investigates the ethical principles and philosophy underlying and governing society. It treats of the origin and structure of political institutions; of the evolution of domestic, economic and industrial arts; of the growth and development of public morals and individual conduct, and of the various other complex forces constituting our civilization. It probes and analyzes the motives and impulses of by-gone man—at once the creature and master of his environments—and traces in his progress and advancement in the past, the achievements of the present and the possibilities of the future. Ob-

viously, then, history is one of the most important elements of comprehensive education, and serves as an invaluable guide in the highest and noblest aspirations of mankind. In the truest sense, the historian is the heir of the ages—the custodian of an inheritance of accredited knowledge to be transmitted to posterity, without which education must be defective and civilization retarded.

Consider for a moment the present greatness of the State of Illinois; its proud position as third in rank of all the states of this mighty republic; its millions upon millions of wealth; its vast system of interlacing railways; its grand educational institutions; its marvelous industries, and immense agricultural and mineral resources!

We can, it is true, emulate the example of a certain domestic animal, and feed in serene contentment upon the acorns of prosperity we find in profusion on the ground before us without once looking up to the source from whence they come. But can the man or woman of intelligence, gifted with the power of thought, contemplate the grandeur and glory of Illinois without experiencing the desire to know something of the causes and forces that produced such results? Can any educated person be entirely insensible to the fascination of that study which discloses the incentives, the hopes, aspirations and heroic efforts of our early pioneers who here vanquished the savages and subdued the asperities of Nature; who toiled and suffered to reclaim the wilderness and make it fruitful; who developed the hidden wealth of the prairies and hills, and whose persistent, well directed labors wrought from the primitive exuberance of its soil the evolution of this great State?

To perpetuate the story of those people, and rescue from forgetfulness their trials and sacrifices when opening this region to the light of civilization; to trace and record the social, political and industrial progress of the new State from its inception; and to collect, systematize and preserve that knowledge and love for future generations, is the chief function of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Can anyone doubt or discredit the value of the work we have undertaken? The importance—nay, the necessity—of this object was recognized by the thoughtful and studious among our early pioneers. In 1827, but nine years after Illinois was admitted as a state into the Union—the need of effective coöperation for preserving the State's history, brought together at Vandalia, then the capital, a number of pioneer citizens of education and literary tastes, who thereupon organized the first State historical society. Judge James Hall, the brilliant writer was chosen its president and Henry C. Eddy, secretary. On its roll of membership are inscribed the names of John Mason Peck, Governor Edwards, Prof. John Russell, John Reynolds, Sidney Breese, Peter Cartwright, Samuel D. Lockwood and others equally distinguished in the State's annals. They commenced the work with spirit and with commendable enthusiasm. Several meeting were held, at which valuable papers were contributed and able addresses delivered, upon special phases of the State's history and progress.

But, the meetings ceased, and the organization was lost, for want of the cohesive element of financial support. To have looked to the State for that support was out of the question, as at that time it was all the State could do to support itself. And, unfortunately, most of the members of the society were in the same condition. To absent themselves from their vocations and travel to Vandalia, on horseback through trackless prairies and woods to attend the meetings of the society, and defray their own expenses, was a sacrifice that but few of them could afford to make. Considering the then undeveloped condition of the State, that attempt to establish a State historical society—a praise-worthy conception of the best talents of the times—was certainly premature for permanency. It was abandoned, and unfortunately for those who came later upon the stage, the material relating to the State's history which they had gathered together was entirely lost.

Ten years later, in 1837, a second effort was made, by prominent literary men of this State, to place its history upon record in permanent form. They met by agreement at Vandalia, the capital, and formed an association with

Judge Samuel D. Lockwood as presiding officer and Walter B. Scates its secretary. A set of resolutions with amendments made by James Shields, Thomas J. Hewett and Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., reported by Thomas Ford, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, set forth the aim of their association to be the preparation of a complete history of Illinois from its earliest discovery down to recent times, which should be written without prejudice for or against any sect, party or local interest. To Rev. John M. Peck of Rock Springs Seminary, was assigned the post of chief historian to carry out the grand scheme, with the aid of 21 coadjutors to collect data from all parts of the State. The members of that standing committee of assistants were: Sidney Breese, Nathaniel Pope, Wm. Brown, James Lemen, Wm. Kinney, Samuel McRoberts, Samuel D. Lockwood, Zadok Casey, Thomas Ford, Cyrus Edwards, John Reynolds, Prof. John Russell, John Hay, Richard M. Young, James M. Robinson, Pierre Menard, John Kinzie, Wm. Thomas and Rev. Gideon Blackburn.

But that magnificent, well planned project, like its predecessor of a decade before, had no financial support from either public or private source, and was, of course, barren of results. Had the movement been aided by a liberal State appropriation we can well imagine the priceless work that such an array of pioneers, combining the finest minds in the State, would have produced. And though their meeting was without immediate fruition, it, no doubt, seemed to stimulate the laborious research and investigation to which we are now indebted for the valuable historic writings and compilations of Peck, Brown, Ford, Reynolds and Breese.

With the social and educational progress of Illinois and its increase of population and wealth, there has been among its people a corresponding appreciation of taste for that kind of literature and a growing demand for organized agencies having for their object more expanded and more exhaustive historical work.

Incited by that popular feeling the Chicago Historical Society was founded in 1856. It was a local, incorporated enterprise and highly successful, when its library and collections were destroyed by the great fire of 1871 that swept Chicago away. It was immediately re-established, and, maintained by the intelligent and opulent citizens of that wonderful city, it has grown to its present magnificence. Yet, the Chicago Historical Society is a local institution, in some respects falling short of the requirements of a State Historical Society.

Since the time when the State capitol crowned the picturesque bluffs of the romantic Okaw, at Vandalia, much has been written relating to the State of Illinois. Nevertheless, the necessity for a State Historical Society comprehending in its scope of work every county, township and precinct in the State, is as imperative today as it then was. More searching and systematic investigation than ever before pursued is rewarded with multiplying facts unknown to former writers, and from the ancient, musty records of foreign countries are received revelations of hidden passages of Illinois history of incomputable value. With this constant accession of information new to us, and more intelligent interpretation of old facts, we are enabled to correct many erroneous statements of our earlier published histories, many of them transmitted from one to another down to the present time.

To well and properly digest accreting new data, and purify the old from mistakes and errors, and place at hand for the future historian of Illinois the most trustworthy material for his work, is the mission of this society. The urgency of that mission being for some time apparent to us, we met, by agreement, at the State University in Urbana, on the 19th day of May, 1899, and inaugurated the movement—for the third time since the first effort in 1827—to establish a State historical society. Having there taken the preliminary steps for that purpose, we again met at the State house in Springfield, in June following, when we completed the organization by adopting a constitution, electing officers, paying our dues and incorporating the society in accordance with provisions of the State incorporation laws.

We have since held regular meetings, gained some accessions of members and collected quite an amount of valuable historical material. In addition to that we have published three small volumes of annual transactions which illustrate the substantial character of our work. That much we have accomplished without a dollar of State aid, save expense of publication defrayed by courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the State Historical Library.

And yet; after almost four years of successful management of this society, with marked improvement in its several departments each year, we must admit that our efforts are still but an experiment dependent for permanent success upon public encouragement and support. To be placed upon an enduring basis, in order that its benefits to the public may be enlarged and popularized in the future, it must have State recognition and the State's fostering assistance to the extent, at least, of providing it with a safe and commodious place of deposit for its archives and records, and financial aid sufficient to defray expenses of publication and diffusion of the products of its labors. The Illinois State Historical Society may, it is true, be continued indefinitely, maintained, as now, solely by individual efforts and means, but the history of similar undertakings, both in this State and others, warn us that without the active sympathy and co-operation of the people of the State all our endeavors and toil may end in dissolution and abandonment.

To avert such a possible calamity we will apply to the General Assembly of the people's representatives now in session here, for needed assistance, and the cheering words of cordial welcome spoken to us this evening by the presiding officer of the Senate are to us full of promise that the people of Illinois correctly estimate the import and value of our organization, and will not permit it to languish and fail."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONS OF ILLINOIS.

THE ANNUAL ADDRESS.

Address of Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson before the State Historical Society, at Springfield Jan. 27, 1903.)

As preliminary and pertinent to the subject to be discussed, some data of historic interest will be given. The veritable history of what is now "Illinois" begins with the coming of Marquette and Joliet. As messengers of the cross, as well as explorers, they were the first white men whose feet pressed our soil. Their expedition was by authority of the commandant at Quebec, the ancient seat of government of the French empire in the new world. The landing of these explorers, whose names are inseparably interwoven with our early history, was in the month of June, 1673, upon tbe east bank of the Mississippi. The inhabitants of the first village they visited were known as "the Illini," a word signifying "men." The euphonic termination added by the Frenchmen gives us the name "Illinois."

The glory of having discovered the upper Mississippi and the valley which bears its name belongs to Marquette and Joliet. It was theirs to add the vast domain, under the name of "New France," to the empire of the grand monarch. In truth it was a princely gift.

But no history of the great valley and the majestic river would be complete which failed to tell something of the priest and historian, Hennepin, and of the knightly adventures of the chevalier, LaSalle. Much, indeed, that is romantic surrounds the entire career of the latter. Severing his connection with a theological school in France, his fortunes were early cast in the new world. From Quebec, the ancient French capital of this continent, he projected an expedition which was to add empire to his own country and to cast a glamour about his own name. In 1669, with an outfit that had cost him his entire fortune, with a small party, he ascended in canoes the St. Lawrence, and a few weeks later was upon the broad Ontario. Out of the mists and shadows that envelop much of his subsequent career, it is impossible at all times to gather that which is authentic. It is enough that, with Hennepin as one of his fellow voyagers, he reached the Ohio, and in due time navigated the Illinois, meantime visiting many of the ancient vilages. But his great achievement, and that with which abides his imperishable fame, was his perilous descent of the Mississippi, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf

of Mexico. On the 9th day of April, 1682, upon the east bank of the lower Mississippi, with due form and ceremony, and amid the solemn chanting of the TeDeum and the plaudits of his comrades, LaSalle took formal possession of what was then called the Louisiana Country, in the name of his royal master, Louis XIV of France.

For the period of 92 years, beginning with the coming of Marquette and Joliet, Illinois was a part of the French possessions. Sovereignty over the vast domain of which it was a part was exercised by the French King, through his Commandant and subordinate officers. First, the dependency of Canada, "the Illinois country," by decree of the Royal Council, in 1717, passed under the government established for Louisiana. Subsequently, in 1721, it became, by virtue of the same authority, one of the separate provinces into which the Louisiana country was then partitioned. A Commandant and judge were appointed and the seat of authority transferred to Fort Chartres. Population, meanwhile, gradually increased in the great American bottom, then embracing all of the French settlements in Illinois. A recent historian has truly said: "The French sought and claimed more than they had the ability to hold or possess. Their line of domain extended from the St Lawrence around the Great Lakes and through the valley of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of more than 3,000 miles." Truly, a magnificent domain, but one destined soon to pass forever from the French monarch and his line.

The hour had struck, and upon the North American continent, the ancient struggle for supremacy between France and her traditional enemy was to find bloody arbitrament. Great Britain claimed as a part of her colonial possessions in the new world, the territory bordering upon the Great Lakes and the rich lands of the Ohio and Mississippi valley.

Passing rapidly the minor incidents of the varying fortunes of the stupendous struggle, which had been transferred for the time from the old world to the new, we reach the hour which was to mark an epoch in history. The time, the thirteenth of September, 1759, the place, the Heights of Abraham, at Quebec. Here and then, was fought out one of the pivotal battles of the ages. It was the closing act in a great drama. The question to be determined: whether the English speaking race or its hereditary foe, was to be master of the continent. It was literally a struggle for empire, the magnificent domain stretching from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. The incidents of the battle, need not now be told. Never were English or French soldiery led by more knightly captains. The passing years have not dispelled the romance or dimmed the glory that gathered about the names of Wolfe and of Montcalm. Dying at the selfsame moment, one amid the victors, the other amid the vanquished, their names live together in history.

By the treaty of Paris, which followed, France surrendered to her successful rival all claim to the domain east of the Mississippi River. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Gage, the commander of

the British forces in America, took possession of the recently conquered territory. Proclamation of this fact was made to the inhabitants of the Illinois country in 1764 and a garrison soon thereafter established at Kaskaskia. Here, the rule of the British was, for the time, undisputed.

British domination in the Mississippi valley was, however, to be of short duration. Soon the events were hastening, the forces gathering, which were in turn to wrest from the Crown no small part of the splendid domain won by Wolfe's brilliant victory at Quebec. While our Revolutionary War was yet in progress, and its glorious termination yet but dimly foreshadowed, Gen. George Rogers Clark planned an expedition whose successful termination has given his name to the list of great conquerors. Bearing the commission of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, with 200 followers equally brave as himself, the heroic Clark crossed the Ohio river and began his perilous march. After enduring hardships, the recital of which even now makes the heart sick, the undaunted leader and his little band reached Kaskaskia. The British commander and his garrison were surprised and quickly captured. This was on the 4th day of July, 1778, 15 years after the treaty of Paris. The British flag was lowered and "the Illinois country" taken possession of in the name of the commonweath, whose governor had authorized the expedition. Thus, on the anniversary of our historic day, the symbol of British authority disappeared forever from the Illinois country. In the month of October following the capture of Kaskaskia the House of Delegates of Virginia extended jurisdiction over what had previously been known as "the Illinois country." A law was enacted creating "the county of Illinois," and a commandant appointed by Patrick Henry, who has, by one of our historians, been called "*ex-officio*, the first Governor of Illinois."

The significant event which soon followed, one of far reaching consequence, was the cession by Virginia to the general government of the vast domain of which Illinois was a part. To the famous instrument by which Illinois became a part of the United States, were signed as commissioners, upon the part of Virginia, the illustrious names of Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee and James Monroe. The resolution of the Virginia House of Delegates preceding the act of cession, contained the important stipulation that the lands thus ceded should be for the common benefit of the United States, and should be formed into distinct republican states which should become members of the Federal Union and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states.

Another mile stone is now reached on the pathway of "the Illinois country" to the dignity and sovereignty of statehood. I refer to what is so well known in our political history as the Ordinance of 1787. Not inaptly, has it been called the second "Magna Charta." It was Mr. Webster who said of the great Ordinance: "We are accustomed to praise the great law-givers of antiquity, we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and of Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one

single law, ancient or modern, has produced effects more distinct, marked and lasting in character, than the Ordinance of 1787." By an eminent jurist it has been described as having been "A pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night in the settlement and government of the northwestern states."

On the historic day, March 1, 1784, that Virginia ceded to the United States the vast domain mentioned, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the Continental Congress a plan for its government. His far-seeing statesmanship is unmistakably evidenced by two provisions in the plan he formulated. One, that slavery should not exist in the territory after the year 1800; the other that the states to be carved from the territory were to remain forever members of the American Union. This plan failed to receive the sanction of that Congress, and in later days, and by other hands, the great Ordinance was destined to come into being.

The fact is significant that while the convention of 1787 was in session and its great work, the Constitution of the United States, yet unfinished, the historic Ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory was formulated by the Congress then convened under the Articles of Confederation. It can hardly be doubted that the advocates of the great Ordinance, in some measure, caught the inspiration which, in the historic convention, was making possible "the more perfect Union," which had been the dream of Washington, of Hamilton and of Madison. In the latter body was held high debate, to which the world had hitherto been unaccustomed, touching the fundamental principles of human government. How best to garner up the fruits of successful revolution and crystallize into organic law the deathless principles of the Declaration of Independence, was the problem confronting the statesman of 1787. It was the period when, as never before, debate touched the very springs of political power. The result: The Constitution of the United States, declared by Gladstone: "The most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time from the brain and purpose of man." Even now, after the lapse of more than a century, its framers seem to have been inspired by wisdom more than human. It would have been strange if the Congress, the contemporary of the great convention, and itself controlled, in large measure, by signers of the Declaration and soldiers of the Revolution, passing strange indeed, if an assembly so constituted, had failed to establish suitable safeguards for the liberties of the millions yet to occupy the vast western domain.

Antedating the Federal Constitution, the Ordinance for the government of the Northwest territory was enacted July 13, 1787. As this was indeed the Genesis of Illinois history under the Federal government, it may be well to note, briefly, some of the provisions of the great Ordinance. By its terms a government was established for the territory and a Governor, Secretary, and Judges duly appointed, with power to adopt such laws of the original states as were most convenient; a Legislature was authorized when the territory should have 5,000 free, male inhabitants; religious freedom and civil

rights—not to depend upon religious belief—were guaranteed; likewise the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury. Two of the provisions of this famous Ordinance possessed a value that cannot be measured by words. One, the states to be formed from said territory were to remain forever a part of the United States of America; the other that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the territory otherwise than for crime, whereof the party should have been duly convicted." The value of the great Ordinance to that generation—and to the millions who have since found homes within the limits of the vast area embraced within its provisions—cannot be overstated.

Pursuant to the ordinance of 1787—the Northwest territory having attained the requisite population—a General Assembly was convened in Cincinnati, in February, 1799. Illinois was now, for the first time, represented in a legislative chamber. Its delegates were men well known to our early history: John Edgar, from the county of Randolph, and Shadrach Bond, from St. Clair. During the sessions of this Assembly, all needed legislation was enacted for Illinois, then embraced within the boundaries of the two historic counties just named.

By act of Congress in May, 1800, the Northwest territory was divided and a political division created to be known as "the Indiana territory." The seat of government was located at Vincennes and the boundaries of the new division embraced the territory constituting the present states of Indiana and Illinois. Events were now leading up to the separation of Illinois from Indiana, and its own organization as a territory. From the time of the first petition to that end in 1806, the legislative chamber at Vincennes and the entire territory, in fact, was the theater of excited controversy. Its culmination, however, was in February, 1809, when, by act of Congress, "The territory of Illinois" was duly organized. The seat of government was established at Kaskaskia—and henceforth Illinois has a history separate and apart.

We have now noted something of the "political beginnings" of Illinois. We have briefly followed its thread of history for near a century and a half, until, in 1809, it was granted a separate territorial existence. We have seen it under the rule of the Frenchman, the Britain, the Virginian, and the various Territorial organizations established by Congress. We have seen its seat of authority at Quebec, at New Orleans, at Fort Chartres, at Cincinnati, at Vincennes, and finally at Kaskaskia. A chapter less romantic—but of deeper significance—now opens.

The first decisive steps, preparatory to the admission of Illinois into the Union, were taken by the Territorial Legislature at Kaskaskia in January, 1818. A resolution passed that body requesting the Hon. Nathaniel Pope, the delegate in Congress, to present the petition of the Legislature for such action upon the part of Congress as would enable the territory to apply, in due form, for admission upon an equal footing with the original states. The petition having been appropriately referred by the House, the delegate was instructed by

the committee having it in charge, to prepare a bill for the admission of the new state. On the 18th day of April thereafter, an enabling act was passed by Congress to the effect that "the inhabitants of the territory of Illinois be, and are hereby, authorized to frame for themselves a Constitution and State government, and to assume such name as they should deem proper, and the said state when formed shall be admitted into the Union upon the same footing with the original states in all respects whatever." An election for delegates to a convention to formulate a State Constitution was ordered for the first Monday of July and the two days immediately following, throughout the several counties in the Territory. The qualifications of electors were defined and the manner of conducting the election indicated. The fourth section of the bill authorized the members thus elected to meet in convention at Kaskaskia in August thereafter, and, if deemed expedient, to form a Constitution and State government; that the same should be republican in form and not repugnant to the ordinance of 1787, excepting so much thereof as related to the boundaries of the states therein to be formed. The clause last read containing the exception as to the boundary of the new State, was indeed significant. By an amendment proposed by Judge Pope, the northern boundry of the new State was extended to the parallel of 42 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, instead of 41 degrees 39 minutes thereof, as reported by the committee. Judge Pope stated that the object of his amendment was "to gain for the proposed State a coast on Lake Michigan; that this would afford additional security to the perpetuity of the Union, inasmuch as Illinois would thereby be connected through the lakes, with the states lying to the eastward." As amended, the bill passed. The valuable service rendered by Judge Pope is enduring. But for his foresight and fidelity, the territory out of which 14 splendid counties have since been carved would have been detached from Illinois, to become in time a part of the state of Wisconsin. But for this timely amendment the world today, no doubt, would know much of "Chicago, Wisconsin"—"Chicago, Illinois," would have no place upon the map. Instead of being third, Illinois, with but 40 per cent of its present population, would be low down upon the list of States.

In pursuance of the enabling act just mentioned, a convention of 32 delegates, elected from the 15 counties of the Territory, assembled at Kaskaskia on the 3d day of August, 1818. Two of the members of this body—Jesse B. Thomas and Elias K. Kane—at a later day became well known to the country. The former was president of the convention and the latter the leading spirit in its deliberations. The convention adjourned after a session of 23 days, and the Constitution—the work of its hands—was formally presented to Congress on the 19th of November thereafter, by John McLean, the recently elected member from Illinois. Objection was made to the oath of office being administered to Mr. McLean, "in consequence of Congress not having concluded the act of admission of the State into the Union." After much debate, the Constitution was referred to a special committee, which, upon the following day, through its chairman, Mr. Anderson of Kentucky, reported a resolution declar-

ing the admission of Illinois on an equal footing with the original states. This report was earnestly antagonized by Mr. Talmadge of New York, on the ground that the Constitution failed to prohibit slavery, as required by the ordinance of '87. In substance, that the sixth article, providing that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall *hereafter* be introduced into the State," etc., was a recognition rather than an inhibition of the institution. The principal speech in reply was that of Representative Harrison of Ohio, at a later day President of the United States. General Harrison insisted that there had been a virtual compliance with the ordinance, and said he could assure the gentleman from New York that the people of Illinois would never alter their Constitution in order that slavery might be introduced. By a vote of 117 for to 34 against, the resolution then passed the House. This resolution was concurred in by the Senate on the 3d day of December, and on the following day Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas duly admitted as Senators from the State of Illinois. John McLean, the sole Representative, was on the same day admitted to a seat in the House.

Brief reference, at this point, to the two most prominent members of the Convention of 1818 will not be out of place. Jesse B. Thomas, the President of the Convention, had, as the Delegate in Congress from the Indiana territory in 1809, been instrumental in securing to Illinois a separate territorial organization.

He then removed from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, where he held the office of territorial judge. Upon the expiration of his second term as Senator, he removed from the state, and his remaining years were spent in Ohio.

The name of Senator Thomas is prominently connected with the slavery discussions in 1820, upon the application of Missouri for admission into the Union. It was a period of intense excitement in Congress and throughout the country and serious apprehensions existed as to the possible fate of the Union. On the seventeenth of February of that year Senator Thomas proposed, by way of amendment to the Missouri bill, then pending, a prohibition of slavery in the territory ceded by France to the United States, lying north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, north latitude, excepting such part thereof as was included within the Missouri boundary. The proposed amendment was engrafted upon the bill for the admission of the new state and will live in our political history as "The Missouri Compromise of 1820."

Governor Ford is authority for the statement that Elias K. Kane was the most prominent member of the convention of 1818; that his talents were both solid and brilliant, and that to him we are indebted for the peculiar features of our first Constitution. He was less than 24 years of age when a member of the convention. He was the first Secretary of State, by appointment of Governor Bond, subsequently a member of the Legislature and was twice elected a Senator in Congress. His death occurred in Washington City, in 1835, while a member of the Senate. He was an able member of that body, had

rendered valuable service to the state he represented and his name lives in honorable association with the important events of early Illinois history.

By an examination of our first Constitution, it will be seen that its framers were little disposed to trust the people with power. No provision was made for submitting the Constitution to popular vote, for adoption or rejection. By its terms, the Supreme and Circuit Judges, as well as the Secretary of State, Treasurer and Auditor, were to be elected by the General Assembly. The Governor and remaining State officers were to be chosen by the people. Many provisions were copied from the Constitutions of the older states. The seat of government was to remain at Kaskaskia until the General Assembly made provision for its permanent location. Instead of vesting the Executive with a qualified veto power—as had been done in the Federal, as well as many of the state Constitutions—a Council of Revision was created. This council consisted of the governor and judges of the Supreme Court. By this provision, all bills which had passed the Senate and House were required to be submitted to the Council of Revision for approval or rejection. If approved, the bill at once became a law. If disapproved by the Council, the bill was required to be returned to the House in which it originated—with the written objections of the Council—for re-consideration. Upon re-consideration, however, the bill might become a law by a majority vote of each House, the objection of the Council of Revision to the contrary, notwithstanding. It will readily be seen that the Council of Revision, was, in reality, invested only with advisory powers to the General Assembly. All white, male inhabitants, above the age of 21 years, who had resided six months in the State, were granted the elective franchise. It has been said that this was the first Constitution to prohibit imprisonment for debt. For this, it is entitled to lasting commendation. No less is it to be commended for the provision against dueling.

While the members of the first Constitutional Convention apparently distrusted the executive and judicial departments of the government, their faith seems to have been unbounded in the General Assembly. The power of the Legislature was almost unlimited. One of the defects of this Constitution was the lack of a restriction upon the General Assembly in the matter of divorces. A defect yet more serious was the absence of a limitation upon the power of the Legislature in pledging the credit of the State to enterprises of a public or private character. The record of the baneful effect of this omission constitutes the most humiliating chapter of our history as a State. The ill-advised legislation relating to banks and various schemes for internal improvements culminated, as is well known, in the financial disasters which brought the new State to the verge of bankruptcy. The Constitution of 1818, however, contained many provisions well adapted to then existing conditions. Under it, with Bond as Governor, Menard as Lieutenant Governor and Kane as Secretary, Illinois, with a population of less than 40,000 souls, began its marvelous career as a State of the American Union.

This Constitution remained the organic law of Illinois for 30 years, and until the adoption of the Constitution of 1848. Meanwhile the State had gradually increased in wealth and in population. Many new counties had been organized, and the northern boundary of actual settlement extended from the county of Madison to the Wisconsin line. Chicago, and other cities unknown to the framers of the first Constitution, had sprung into being. To meet the exigency of largely increased population to the northward, the State Capital had been twice removed, first to Vandalia and later to Springfield.

An attempt to procure the calling of a Convention to frame a Constitution to supplant the first was made in 1823. By article 7 of the latter the General Assembly was empowered, by a two-thirds vote thereof, to submit to the electors of the State the question of calling a convention to alter or amend the existing Constitution. By the Legislature of 1823 there was such submission under this provision. The purpose of the originators of this movement unquestionably was to secure, by constitutional provision, the introduction into the State of the institution of slavery. For more than a year this was the all-absorbing topic of debate. Political leaders and newspapers were divided and fierce personal antagonisms engendered. The discussions at the fireside, in the public press and upon the hustings touched all phases of the question, from the standpoint of material advantage as well as from the high plane of right. Today such a contention seems to have belonged to other countries and to mediæval times. But "the world moves," and marvelous indeed have been the advances along all lines of thought during the four score years which since have passed.

The verdict of the people, overwhelming and final, was rendered August 2, 1824, against the proposed convention and the introduction of slavery into Illinois. The passing years have obscured the names of many of the prominent actors in the great struggle. Two names, however, come down to us out of the shadowy past, that will not be permitted to perish from the memories of the living. The one a Virginian, Edward Coles; the other a Kentuckian, Daniel P. Cook. The former, the Governor of Illinois; the latter, its sole Representative in Congress. Courageous and untiring they stood in the fore-front, the faithful advocates of a free State. A prosperous county near the Wabash, bears the historic name of Coles, while the great county to the northward, upon the lake, will hand down to coming times, the honored name of Cook.

With the increase in population and in wealth, the necessity became urgent for a new Constitution or material amendments to the old, The question of calling a convention was again submitted, by the Legislature, to be voted upon at the general election in 1846. The returns showed a large majority favorable to the convention, and at a special election, delegates were duly chosen in April, 1847. The convention assembled in Springfield, on the 7th of June of that year. It consisted of 162 members and its sessions were concluded on the 31st day of August. Hon. Newton Cloud, of Morgan county, was elected president, and both the Whig and Democratic parties

were represented in the body by men of well known ability. The Hon. Anthony Thornton, of Shelbyville, is now the sole survivor of that convention. Distinguished alike for high personal character and legal ability, he is still, at an advanced age, an ornament to the profession he has so long honored. Some of the members of that convention were, at a later day, called to places of responsibility and honor in the State and Nation. One, John M. Palmer, became the Governor of the commonwealth, another, David Davis, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Unlike the Constitution of 1818, this was submitted to the people. It met popular approval by a decisive majority, and, by its terms, went into operation on the first Monday in April, 1848.

In the address to the people which accompanied the Constitution, the committee said: "Availing themselves of the lights furnished by a highly advanced state of political science, your delegates have sought to adapt their efforts to the demands of the growing interests and population of the State, consulting at all times the popular will whenever it could be ascertained" Some of the material changes from the old will be noted. In the Executive Department, the term of office of the Governor was fixed at four years, and he was rendered ineligible to consecutive re-election. The Council of Revision was abolished and a qualified veto power lodged in the Governor. In the Legislative Department, the number of Senators was restricted to 25, and of Representatives to 75, and biennial sessions of the Legislature provided for. A yea and nay vote was required upon the passage of all bills. Legislation authorizing lotteries, or in any manner extending bank charters, was prohibited. The Legislature was virtually prohibited from borrowing money—exceeding $50,000 in amount—unless in case of insurrection, invasion or war. The powers of the judiciary were devolved upon a Supreme, Circuit and County Court, and Justices of the Peace and the establishment of Municipal Courts permitted. The right of suffrage was restricted to all white, male citizens above the age of twenty-one years, who had resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and to such as should be residents of the State at the time of the adoption of the proposed Constitution. The time of holding elections was changed from three days in August to one day in November and the ballot substituted for the old system. A wholesome restriction was placed upon the creation of new counties. The creation of a State bank was prohibited and all laws creating corporations—not possessing banking powers—were required to be general. Acts authorizing corporations with banking powers could take effect only upon the approval of a majority of the electors, at a vote to be taken at some general election. Provision was made for the establishment of township organization, also for the election of judges and other officers, by the people. The salary of the Governor was fixed at $1,500, per annum, and that of judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts, at $1,200 and $1,000, respectively.

The fact, that the State and the people were, at the time, burdened with debt, is the explanation why some of the provisions of this

Constitution were adopted. They were the cause of serious embarrassment at a later day and of many devices to evade plain constitutional provisions. Two articles of the Constitution were submitted to be voted upon separately. One was the provision for a tax of two mills upon each dollar's worth of taxable property, the proceeds to be applied to the discharge of the internal improvement debt. It was estimated that this debt of near 6,000,000 of dollars would thereby be discharged in 25 years. The other article separately submitted was that prohibiting the introduction of free negroes into the State. Each of these articles was adopted and became a part of the Constitution; the latter—strange as it may seem to us now—by almost a two-third vote.

As has been stated, the convention that formulated our second Constitution was held at a time of serious financial depression in the State. The evils resulting from a failure by the first convention to restrain the General Assembly, by appropriate constitutional inhibition, were everywhere apparent. The pendulum now swung far in the opposite direction. The Convention of 1847 engrafted upon its Constitution much in the matter of details that should have been left to subsequent Legislatures. A grave error, unquestionably, was that of virtually limiting the sessions of the General Assembly to 42 days, the compensation of members during that period being $2 per day. One dollar per day to be the sole compensation should the sessions be continued longer than the time indicated. The ill effect of this, as well as of the provision fixing the salaries of the Executive and judges, were soon recognized. Changed conditions soon rendered these provisions burdensome, and various legislative devices were resorted to for the purpose of evading them. One was that of allowing each of the judges of the Supreme Court a clerk, with a salary exceeding that allowed the judge by the Constitution. In some of the counties the meagre salary of the circuit judge was supplemented by unauthorized appropriations from the county treasury. The Constitution of 1848, however, contained many valuable provisions, and the well-known ability of many of its framers is conclusive evidence that it was the best that could be secured under then existing conditions.

The second Constitution remained in force from April 4, 1848, until Aug. 8, 1870. In the intervening years the increase in population and the commercial development of the State had been without parallel. In addition, its geographical position and political power had given Illinois a place among the greatest of the states of the Union. Meanwhile, the defects in the organic law and the repeated evasion of its provisions became the subject of earnest discussion. In large measure the State had outgrown its Constitution. The words of Lord Bacon were fraught with deep meaning, "What men will not alter for the better, time—the great innovator—will alter for the worse."

In pursuance of an act of the General Assembly an election was held in November, 1861 for delegates to a new convention. This convention, consisting of 75 members, assembled in Springfield, Jan.

7, 1862. Its membership included distinguished representatives of both political parties. A former Governor of the State and the present Chief Justice of the United States, were of its members. The president of the body Hon. William A. Hacker, of Union county, and its secretary, Hon. William M. Springer, well known at a later day as an able representative in Congress. Inasmuch as the Constitution formulated by this convention, was, upon its submission, rejected by popular vote, there would be little profit now in specifying the features which distinguished it from that which it was intended to supplant. In the address accompanying it, attention was called to its manifold advantages over the old; to the insufficient checks upon legislation which the proposed Constitution would obviate. It was claimed that under the latter, "Efficiency would be combined with economy in all departments of State; legislation limited by wise restriction; judicial proceedings regulated in a manner economical and just; chartered corporations deprived of their unreasonable and dangerous power, and the happiness of the people, the promotion of morality and the consequent prosperity of the State regarded as the prime objects of government."

By the rejection just mentioned, the Constitution of 1848 was granted a new lease of life. Time, however, only emphasized its glaring defects and the imperative necessity for its amendment. Upon this point, the words of a responsible committee are indeed suggestive: "For years past, the machinery of our State government has been kept in motion only by continued violation of plain and positive constitutional provisions. And whenever it becomes necessary to violate a Constitution, it should be changed to meet and remove the necessity which impelled to such violation." The latest Convention, that which formulated our present Constitution, assembled in Springfield on the 13th day of December, 1869, and concluded its deliberations on the 13th day of May, following. It consisted of 85 members and was, in the highest sense, an able and representative body. Hon. Charles Hitchcock, a prominent member of the Chicago bar, was its presiding officer. Its leading members had known much of public service, both to the State and the Nation. One had been a Senator and a member of the cabinet. The temporary president, Colonel Dement, of Dixon, had been a resident of Illinois during its entire existence as a State, and a member of the two conventions immediately preceding.

The address of the convention, which accompanied the Constitution to the people, contained these explanatory words: "Our State Legislatures are only restrained by the Constitutions of the State and of the United States. It is, therefore, necessary that State Constitutions should contain many regulations and restrictions, while the Constitution of the United States may be much shorter, for that is a government of delegated powers with only the incidental powers necessary and proper to execute the powers granted." Therefore, as will be seen, manifold provisions were engrafted upon the new Constitution as barriers against the continuance of existing evils. The Constitution of no state probably contained more restrictive provisions

upon the Legislative department. Every avenue was attempted to be guarded against the evils of special legislation. Wherever applicable, general laws were required. In addition to the subjects of divorce and lotteries, mentioned in the old Constitution, more than 20 new subjects are enumerated upon which the General Assembly was prohibited from legislating. Upon one, or more, of these, much of the special legislation complained of, had originated. As a precaution against hasty legislation, all bills and amendments, thereto were required to be printed before they were passed. Only one subject was permitted to be embaced in each bill. The General Assembly was prohibited from releasing any liability to the State, or to any municipal corporation therein.

A new departure in the organic law of a state was the mandatory provision specifying certain subjects upon which the General Assembly was required to legislate. In what manner this provision could be enforced, or what would be the penalty for non-compliance with this constitutional requirement, we are not advised. If, however, regarded only as advisory, it was of value. Suitable laws for the protection of coal miners have been enacted and liberal homestead and exemption laws passed. Added to the "Bill of Rights" was the requirement that private property should not be taken for public use without just compensation, to be ascertained by a jury. And that "all irrevocable grants of special privileges or immunities are prohibited, to protect the people against privileged orders and dangerous monopolies."

In the Executive Department, additional power was given and greater responsibility cast upon the Governor. The power to remove incompetent officers, or such as were guilty of malfeasence in office, was given. The negative power of the Governor over legislation was measured by that of the President over Congress, under the Federal Constitution. The provision in regard to suffrage was made to conform to that of the Constitution of the United States. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of other provisions, especially those relating to "corporations" and "state, county and municipal indebtedness." To the end that the expense and inconvenience of future conventions to alter or amend the organic law, might be avoided, suitable provision was made for submission by the General Assembly of proposed amendments for adoption or rejection by the people.

Lessons of value may be drawn from a study of the several Constitutions under which our State has had its political being. The first convention—distrusting the people—signally failed to limit the power of the Legislature. This omission was, at a later day, the prime cause of evils that brought the State almost to the verge of bankruptcy and dishonor. In this connection, the words of Webster possess deep meaning: "It is a fundamental rule in the structure of human society that mankind must not only limit the power of their rulers, but must limit themselves."

The second convention—distrusting the Legislature—engrafted upon the fundamental law much that pertained exclusively to statutory enactment. There seems to have been little reckoning taken as

to the possibility of changed conditions in human affairs, from those then existing. But all wisdom is not of one generation. It must be remembered that "new occasions teach new duties." Something must be trusted to the future.

The third convention—whose work failed to receive popular approval—exercised, in a yet greater degree, the power of ordinary legislation. The position assumed by some of its members, that a convention was vested with extraordinary powers; that independent of existing law, it embodied the supreme will of the people, was untenable. The convention is a creature of the people, their chosen agency for a clearly defined purpose. Within its proper sphere, its powers are unmeasured. Brought into existence, not by revolutionary proceedings, but under the arms of law, its powers are, of necessity, limited. To formulate the fundamental law anew, or alter and amend, as may seem most fitting, and submit the work of its hands to the judgment of that higher tribunal, the people, is the "be all and end all" of the high prerogative of the Constitutional Convention.

Fundamental Laws—In the words of an eminent writer—"in politics, are expressions of sovereign will in relation to the structure of the government, the extent and distribution of its powers, the modes and purposes of its operation, and the apparatus of checks and balances proper to insure its integrity and continued existence." Statuatory enactments upon the contrary may be "tentative, temporary and pass with the occasion." The work of the Legislature may be for the hour; that of the convention—for time.

From all this it may be inferred that the assembling of a convention to formulate a new fundamental law for the State, should be an event of rare occurrence in our history. In matters of government, as well as along humbler paths, it is sometimes better "to bear the ills we have, than to fly to others that we know not of." The necessity for the convention as an instrumentality in government is, in large measure, obviated by a wise provision of the Constitution, by which, through simpler and less expensive methods, public opinion can find expression upon proposed amendments to the organic law.

The present Constitution of our State has been in operation almost a third of a century. It has answered well its purpose and is a monument to the fidelity and ability of its framers. The great commonwealth, of which it is the fundamental law, is now the third in the Federal Union. In the light of the past, we stand appalled as we contemplate its marvelous future.

In the remote—or the near future, it may be—a new convention will assemble and a new Constitution be formulated. When—will be determined by those upon whom the responsibility shall hereafter devolve. It will be strange indeed if changing conditions, augmented population, the growth of cities—especially of our great city—and commercial developement along all lines, shall not render some alteration in the organic law of the State, a necessity. The words of John Stuart Mill are significant: "No government can now

expect to be permanent, unless it guarantees progress as well as order; nor can it continue to secure order unless it promotes progress."

But it must be remembered, that all change is not progress. The Federal Constitution—the nearest perfect of all the schemes of government yet devised by man—has, with few material amendments, endured the stress and strain of more than a century. In its essentials, it meets the requirements of a people now far in the forefront, as it did those of a feeble Republic when struggling for place among the nations.

It has been said that: "Today is the pupil of yesterday." Each age is "the heir of all which has preceded." We make progress as we profit by the lessons of the past. In all human affairs, experience is the sure guide. In the light of experience, we know that wise and stable government is one of the essentials to human happiness. Equally well, we know that whatever the safe-guard of Constitution or of statute, the public weal is, in large measure, dependent upon the clear head and clean hands of those to whom the administration of the laws is committed. There is something of truth—though not all truth—in the lines of the old poet:

> "As to forms of government, let fools contest,
> That which is best administered, is best."

Let us never forget that in the outstretched years, the welfare of the State—and of the great Republic of which it is a part—will depend, not upon material power or wealth or splendor, but upon the intelligence, the virtue, the patriotism of the people In the State—as in the home—the nearer we keep to the land marks established by our fathers, the more surely are we in the pathway of duty and of safety.

We honor the memory of the men who set up the public defences and made sure the foundation of this great commonwealth They are to be judged, not in the spirit of criticism—not "by the knowledge that comes after the fact"—but by the conditions that surrounded, and by the lights that guided them. We are proud, and justly, of this great State—our home and the home of our children; proud of its prosperity and its position; proud of its historic past—of all it has contributed to the welfare and glory of the Republic. We, nor history, will forget how, when the life of the Nation was in peril, Illinois—true to her covenant under the great Ordinance that had given her being—gave one illustrious son to the chief magistracy of his country, another to the captaincy of its armies, and sent her heroes, by myriads, along every pathway of danger and of glory.

THE MINES OF JO DAVIESS COUNTY.

By Hon. William Spensley.

Until recently Jo Daviess county in a political sense was not on the map of the State. Being in the northwest corner it did not seem to be of much importance, either from a political or a more material standpoint. Now, however, I want to kindly suggest to the aspiring ones that politically Jo Daviess county is coming to the front, and they had better keep their eye on the present *pro tempore* President of the Senate or he may quietly slip into the Gubernatorial chair.

It is well, however, that politics do not, of themselves, make a State, and when we consider Jo Daviess county from a more material standpoint and from what it has added to the nation's wealth in the past and what it will probably add to that wealth in the future. it will be found that it is one of the most important counties in the State, and I confidently assert that no county in the State of its size has natural resources superior to those of the county of Jo Daviess.

It will produce anything that any other county will produce in the same latitude, and produce it abundantly, and when you add to this its mineral wealth, it is unsurpassed, if equaled, by any other county in the commonwealth of Illinois.

Just when its mines were first discovered is shrouded in mystery, although it is certain that a Frenchman by the name of La Seur saw mines in that county as early as the month of August, 1700. He was on a trading expedition to the Indians in what is now the State of Minnesota, and in his report of that expedition says he discovered a small river entering the Mississippi on the right side, and describes the river as running from the north, and that on that river seven leagues from the Mississippi is a lead mine. He named the river, thus discovered by him, "The River of Mines." It should be borne in mind that at that time Jo Daviess county, as well as other portions of the northwest, was French territory. The river so discovered by him was, beyond doubt, what is now known as Galena river, and there is a map of Illinois in the State House published in 1820, in which that river is named the River of Mines.

The geography of the county at that time was but little known and afterwards, in 1712, Louis the XIV, of France, granted in perpetuity to one Anthony Crozat and his heirs all the property of the mines of Louisiana, which was then supposed to include the mines of what is now included within the bounds of Jo Daviess county.

It is uncertain just what particular mine La Seur saw, but the best evidence obtainable points to the fact that the mine he visited is the one two miles north of the City of Galena and has always been and still is known as the Buck mine. It is a lead mine and has been worked more or less from the time that La Seur is supposed to have seen it up to the present time, and it is claimed it is yet far from being exhausted.

Tradition claims that there was at first in said mine a solid body of lead ore 100 feet high, varying in width from 6 to 10 feet, and extending from east to west for nearly a mile, but I am strongly of the opinion that in this respect tradition is at fault because no such mine has since been discovered, and again, that description would give the lead ore a sheet formation. The old Buck mine is what is known as an east and west mine, and east and west mines do not form lead ore in that way; the sheet formations of lead ore being found in what is known as north and south crevices. The lead ore found in the east and west take on what is known as a cog formation, samples of such formation I have with me (exhibiting same), the north and south crevices producing lead ore in a sheet formation, samples of such formation I now hold in my hand (exhibiting same.)

All of the lead ore produced in Jo Daviess County contains traces of silver but not enough to make it profitable to extract the same; the ore found in what is known as the north and south crevices and being of a sheet formation will produce a trifle more lead than the ore found in the east and west, which is of a cog formation. Just why this is so has never been determined. It may be well in passing to say that the best lead ores found in the county, when reduced in a crucible, will produce about 80 per cent of lead, although in the primitive form in which our early smelters reduced the ore it would hardly produce 70 per cent of lead, or rather but 70 per cent of lead was saved.

The lead ores are found at various depths, from the grass roots down as deep as explorations have been made, which is not very deep as mines are now considered. No mine in the county, with which I am familiar, has been to exceed 200 feet in depth. The ore is found in veins and flats, that is, in veins that are perpendicular or that open horizontally, the perpendicular veins being known to geologists as gash veins, they are locally known as crevices and nearly all the ore is found in crevices, although a considerable amount is found out side of the crevices, the ore so found is known as float and is supposed to have drifted away from the main body of ore, just how this drifting away has been brought about, if it really occurred, is not known.

The principal crevices run east and west, that is their general course is east and west although generally they vary slightly to a southeast and northwest direction and are locally known in the mines as "east and wests." Other crevices run north and south, that is their general courses do, and are locally known as "north and souths." Besides these there are crevices known as quarterings which usually

cross the east and west crevices diagonally. Some of these quarterings, so called, run from the northeast to the southwest and some from the southeast to the northwest and are locally called "ten o'clocks" or "four o'clocks" according to the direction they assume. Besides these there are smaller crevices which usually cross the east and west crevices in various directions, these are locally called "swithers," just why they are so called I have not been able to ascertain.

The crevices generally run in groups. A group consists of three or more crevices. The largest quantities of ores are found in the easts and wests. For some distance below the crevices are generally found to be perpendicular; then they frequently vary from such perpendicular, either north or south. When the variation is toward the north it is called "a north pitch"; when the variation is toward the south it is called "a south pitch." But those pitches generally return to a perpendicular. The east and west crevices form what is locally known as openings; that is, they widen out, and in these openings the largest body of lead ore is found. When the opening is horizontal it is called a "flat opening," and when perpendicular a perpendicular opening. The crevices that run north and south seldom, if ever, make openings; at least have not been found to make openings, so far as they have been explored, and they generally drop toward the east or pitch east as the "crow flies." The lead ore in these north and south crevices has the appearance of being molded in the crevice, and is generally found attached to what is locally called the wall rock. In each of these groups there is generally found what is known as a main crevice, and if lead ore be found in the group, the largest body is usually found in such main crevice. If lead ore be found in all the crevices of the group, it is not found directly north or south of the ore found in the main crevice, but in a diagonal course from it, and is supposed to be formed by the diagonal crossings of the group of crevices, which, as before explained, are locally known as "ten o'clocks" or "four o'clocks."

As before explained, the lead ore found in the crevices that run east and west is generally known as cog mineral; that found in the veins running north and south is generally known as sheet mineral. Not all of the crevices that run either east or west or north or south contain lead ore, many of them are barren. Just why some crevices should contain lead ore and some not, geologists fail to inform us. It is a remarkable fact, however, that so far as I have been informed no ore is found in any crevice without such crevice having been crossed by some other crevice and the local expression is "you will not find lead ore until you strike a crossing." Just why this is so is not known. Some of the crevices are open almost to the grass roots, although they generally close as they go down and just before they make an opening, as it is called. Some are covered over with a limestone formation, the local name of which is the cap-rock. The wall rock on each side of the crevice is sometimes found to be

smooth and almost level and over the opening, nature has formed a covering of limestone almost as smooth as formed by the hand of man, and this, as before stated, is called the cap-rock.

In some of the crevices the walls come together much the same as the two sides of a vase.

The first work done in the mines was beyond doubt performed by the Indians, generally by the squaws, their method of extracting the ore from the ground where it was found attached to the rock was to build a great fire on the rocks and when the rocks had become sufficiently heated threw water upon it and caused the rock to crack, thus separating the ore from the rock. After the ore had been taken from the earth the Indians would make a slight excavation in some hillside, fill that with wood and place the ore thereon, would set the wood on fire and in this way reduce the ore to lead; these are called Indian furnaces, some of them have been seen until recently.

The early method of melting the ore by the white man was almost as inartistic. They would dig a pit; over this pit would be placed a quantity of logs, and upon these lay the ore; setting the logs on fire the ore would be reduced, filling the pit with lead. These were called log furnaces. Afterwards the Drummond furnace was introduced; also the cupola and the blast furnace, which is the one now used, and which is nothing more or less than the old Scotch hearth. It is a little remarkable that in the lead mines of JoDaviess county during the last 50 years little or no improvement has been made in the method of reducing lead ore, and the quantity of ore that has been wasted or lost since the discovery of the mines is almost incalculable.

It is to be regretted that no very accurate account has been kept of the product of the lead mines of JoDaviess county. For years the shipping point was Galena, and from the year 1821 up to and including the year 1857, from the best data that I have been able to gather, there was shipped from Galena, during that time, the enormous sum of 820,000,000 pounds, the estimate value of which was over $30,000,000. From the mines at Elizabeth, which is 15 miles from Galena, but yet in JoDaviess county, the Hon. Henry Green, who was good authority and formerly represented JoDaviess county in the State Senate, states that up to 1875 there was shipped from those mines at Elizabeth 75,000,000 pounds. And the late H. H. Houghton, who, at the time of his death, was the oldest editor in the State, in an article published in his paper just before his death, which occurred in 1873, states that the output of the mines of Vinegar Hill, which is five miles north of Galena, but in JoDaviess county, has reached the enormous sum of 100,000,000 pounds. A writer from Galena, whose name I have not been able to ascertain, in Harper's publication for the month of May, 1866, states that the value of the lead ore produced by the mines of JoDaviess county up to that time was $40,000,000.

The discovery of gold in California and the War of the Rebellion both had a marked influence upon the productiveness of the mines of Jo Daviess county, the first by drawing away most of the miners

to what was deemed more profitable fields of labor and the latter by taking a large number of the young men to the field of battle. As near as can be ascertained Jo Daviess county furnished nearly one-tenth of its population to the army.

Lead ore has been found in every township in the county, and how little the county has been explored will be understood when I state that if all the crevices in which discovery of lead ore has been made in the county were placed side by side they would not cover more than a section of land. This may seem almost incredible, and yet this is the candid judgment of all those with whom I have talked and whose judgment is of value.

Thus far I have spoken of the mines of Jo Daviess county with reference to lead ore alone, but it is estimated by those competent to judge that prolific as Jo Daviess county has been and is in lead ore it does not compare with what zinc ore it has and will produce. Up to 1860 the zinc ore was of little or no value and many a time while hauling lead ore to my father's furnace have I heard the presence of zinc ore with the lead ore bitterly denounced, both by the miners and the men employed in the reduction of the lead ore, the two ores did not mix well, the miner claiming when he would find zinc ore, that it "burned the lead ore out" and the smelter would declare that the zinc ore prevented the reduction of the lead ore, the latter I know to be true from experience. The zinc ore is found in two forms, locally known as black-jack and dry bone, these are shortened into jack and bone. The black jack or sulphide of zinc is such as I now hold in my hand (exhibiting same), it is generally understood to be found at a greater depth than the lead ore, it is also found in crevices somewhat like the lead ore and when it is at its best it is found in sheet formation, whether it be in an east and west or a north and south crevice. The best zinc ore, or as we locally call it, the best jack is from 60 to 66 per cent pure, sometimes we find the lead ore and the zinc ore and limestone all mixed together as though each separate particle had been stirred in nature's pot together and suddenly hardened. The dry bone so called, which is properly a carbonate of zinc, a specimen of which I now hold in my hand (exhibiting specimen) is an inferior quality of zinc ore. It is found under like conditions as the black-jack but not so deep and some have supposed that it is simply the better ore leached out by nature's process.

Just now the trend of mining in Jo Daviess county is toward the discovery of zinc ore and thousands of dollars are now being spent in the discovery of that ore. One mine in the city of Galena within the last 60 days, has been sold to a foreign syndicate for $30,000 and that syndicate is now preparing to further develope the mine on a large scale, putting up buildings and machinery, which at a low estimate will cost $30,000. The manager of the company informs me that it is the purpose of the company to develope the mine to its lowest depths, expecting that when the mine will reach a depth of 300 feet that the deposits will be much larger than have now been discovered. Beside this zinc mine, just three miles north of Galena,

is another zinc mine operated by a company with improved machinery and it is now turning out vast quantities of finished ore. Many other companies have within the last six months commenced operations and it is confidently expected that within the next two years the zinc mines of Jo Daviess county will eclipse the zinc mines of Missouri.

I desire to state further for the benefit of such as may be interested, that the development of the mines in Jo Daviess county, whether it be for lead or zinc ores, can be brought about by the use of comparatively small amount of capital. Our mines are so extensive that the ground can be leased at almost a nominal rental and no charge is made for such leases until results are obtained, and then the royalties paid therefor are generally less than one-half of the royalties paid for gold, silver or copper mining properties. The mining interests are so extensive that little or no trouble is experienced in securing leases upon good mining properties. I make this statement deliberately and after consultation with parties who are thoroughly informed upon the subject and I ask a candid investigation into the statements I make.

Some idea of the interest that is now being taken in the development of the zinc mines in Jo Daviess county may be gathered from the fact that there was not a mill for the reduction of the ore within the bounds of the county three years ago. I have the statement of Mr. R. Barrett, who is president of the Little Corporal and also president of the Hazel Green Mining company and who is also our leading wholesale merchant, that within the next six month including those now in operation, there will be 25 mills within the mining district of which Galena is the center, 17 of which are now either in active operation or contracted for. It will be noted that this is a remarkable fact when it is considered that in the mining district of which Galena is the center, zinc mining is only in its infancy.

Aside from the lead and zinc mines we have another ore that is just now coming into prominence. It is locally known as sulphur, a specimen of which I now hold in my hand (exhibiting specimen). A few years ago this had no commercial value whatever, now it is worth about $6 per ton, although it is but little sought after. It is used in the manufacture of sulphuric acid and I have been informed that experiments are being made with it for fertilizing purposes and it is just possible that by its use Illinois may again become a great wheat growing State, as it is supposed by some that the reason wheat cannot now be grown as successfully in Illinois as in other portions of the Union is lack of sulphur in the soil, but upon this point I do not hazard an opinion.

Aside from all the foregoing ores produced by Jo Daviess County I want to say that it also produces iron ore. There is one iron mine in that county that has produced large quanties of iron ore but not yet in sufficient quantities to be profitable and just at present the mine is not in operation.

I have to say also that it is within the range of possibilities that gold may yet be discovered in that county. I am aware of the fact that geologists claim that such a thing could not be but we are learning every day that Dame Nature does things that have not yet been written down in the books. In a spring situated near the village of Hanover in Jo Daviess County, I have personally washed out what is known as black sand. It is the same kind of sand in which gold is found in many of the placer mines of the West. I also gathered near said spring quite a quantity of quartz, which to the unpracticed eye is similar to quartz in which gold is found in the West, although I did not discover any gold but I intend at no distant day to further prospect the property.

I can say in conclusion and a personal inspection of our mineral resources will justify the statement, that the mines of Jo Daviess County, prospectively, offer as good returns, if not better, for capital invested than any mines in the United States. North of us in the village of Platteville, in Grant County, is a big mine which, I am told, is paying a monthly dividend of 5 per cent. Near the village of Benton, in LaFayette County, which is just north of Jo Daviess County, are several zinc mines that are paying large dividends annually. No lead mines anywhere in the United States have been in the past better producers than the lead mines of Jo Daviess County, not one-tenth of the county has been explored for lead ore. The zinc mines of the county are in their infancy and those best competent to judge give it as their candid judgment that untold wealth lies below the surface of Jo Daviess County, awaiting only the wise use of capital for its development.

OLD FORT MASSAC.

Mrs. Mathew T. Scott.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Authorized to do so by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a widespread and growing organization, extending into every state of our Union, and whose sole object is the strengthening and glory of our beloved country and the restoration of a full fraternal spirit of patriotism, I am before you to submit a memorial upon Old Fort Massac.

In its preparation, I have used the material preserved by the plain people, who for generations have lived near the old fort. The written history prepared by eminent men, also, the authenticated records of the War Department. I have been particularly fortunate in having access to the records of the War Department through the courtesy of Mr. S. A. McCarthy of the Record Division of the office of the Chief of Engineers. You will notice that at various points of this narrative I have given various statements on such immaterial points as the origin of the name, etc., but not otherwise, for there is no disputing testimony on national matters, and I am the more emboldened in my cause from the fact that before I appeared here, I submitted my material and references to your own distinguished President and have heard from him no word of dissent as to my authorities and conclusions and so as a woman representing this great body of women may I claim his support and the support of the Illinois Historical Society, in all gallant and knightly fashion for my cause—the preservation and renaissance of Old Fort Massac.

*OLD FORT MASSAC.

In Illinois near the old city of Metropolis still exists one of the most ancient and interesting historical monuments on this continent. Around Old Fort Massac, overlooking a noble sweep of the Ohio river, cluster memories as heroic as those which enrich any page of our western annals. History, legend and tradition have associated this old fort indissolubly with thrilling occurrence in Illinois' "storied past." Here transpired events of far reaching importance during the great historical epoch known as the Illinois campaign—a scheme for conquest of the British forts northwest of the Ohio river, devised by the military genius of George Rogers Clark, approved by Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, and his confidential advisers, George Mason, George Wythe and Thomas Jefferson—men who grasped both the vast possibilities and herculean difficulties involved in this undertaking.

We have no time to dwell upon this expedition, nor upon the splendid victories of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes—victories which wresting the Illinois and Wabash countries from the British, and against the Spanish, vindicated the foresight of Jefferson, who

* A bill passed the Legislature, session of 1903, appropriating money for the purchase of the site of Fort Massac.

Site of Old Fort Massac. View from River Bank, looking toward the Fort.

said from the beginning that "Clark's expedition into the Illinois and Wabash country would, if successful, have an important bearing ultimately, in establishing our northwestern boundary." This prophecy triumphed in the acquisition of the territory out of which has sprung the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and in part Minnesota, forcing the British frontier back to Mackinaw, Detroit and the lakes.

Governor Reynolds in describing the start for this "march from Fort Massac across the wilderness," says:

"The country between Fort Massacre and Kaskaskia at that day, 1778, was a wilderness of one hundred and twenty (120) miles and contained much of it, a swampy and difficult road.

"In very ancient times a military road was opened and marked each mile on a tree from Massac to Kaskaskia. The numbers of the miles were cut in ciphers with an iron, and painted red. Such I saw them in 1800. This road was first made by the French, when they had the dominion of the country, and was called 'the Old Massac road,' by the Americans."

"It is not likely, however," continues Governor Reynolds, "that there was much if any trace of the road, at the time Clark's little army passed across this wilderness."

NOT HISTORY,—TRADITION.

Tradition still marks this old site as a temporary fort used by DeSoto's men to protect themselves from the Indians so early as 1542. Fort Massac has been successively in the hands of the Spanish, French, English, Indians and Americans. It has figured in the great historical events of the southwest and is richer in historical interest than any point on the Ohio river. It is itself an epitome of the early history of Illinois.

This old fort, these old earthworks yet remain. Their ruins replete with interest to the patriotic student of our country's progress. Here Juchereau traded, and Father Mermet preached in 1701 to 1705. Here the French established a mission and fort, the "French genius," says Governor Reynolds, "for the selection of sites for forts, being eminently sustained in the choice of Fort Massac." Here the southern Indians coming in their bark canoes down the Shawnee (Cumberland) and the Cherokee (Tennessee) rivers; first heard the gospel preached. Here after the evacuation of Fort du Quesne in 1758, and the withdrawal of the Lilies of France, from Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Fort Niagara, Quebec, indeed the whole of Canada.

The French falling back in rafts down the Ohio river under Monsieur Aubry, (La Belle Ohioiere) stayed their retreat.

Here trod that gallant French officer whose memory still is cherished in Illinois. St. Ange de Belle Rive here halted every expedition from Canada down the Wabash, and still onward to the French settlements in lower Louisiana.

Around this old fort Tecumseh hunted buffalo, and here the brave Lieutenant Pike commanded, only to fall, nobly leading his men in

Canada. Here Wilkinson, Sebastian, Powers and others, with Spanish, French and Creole women plotted to dismember the American Union. Here the gifted Aaron Burr rested, refreshed himself, and planned his southern expedition; his plot, to make an empire out of the southwest and if events favored, to set himself on the throne of the Montezumas, and here the beautiful wife of Blennerhasset first learned of the gigantic enterprise her husband was involved in, that swept away a fortune, and rendered her a wanderer from her home in the dead of winter.

Burr arrived at Fort Massac in June, 1805; here he found General Wilkinson and spent four days with him.

The garrison at Fort Massac then consisted of about 40 men; there were no cannon there. Captain Daniel Bissel was the officer in command. The rumors of Burr's projects so rife throughout the western country, do not appear to have reached this secluded spot. It was not until Burr's arrival at Bayou Pierre above Natchez that she learned of Wilkinson's treachery. With their subsequent affairs we have nothing to do, except to say that Burr was arrested at Fort Stoddard by Captain E.P.Gaines,who afterward commanded Fort Massac, and subsequently reached high rank in the United States army.

History relates many instances in which the fort figured up to 1794, when Washington in a special order dated March 31, directed that the fort be rebuilt and re-occupied. The necessity of rebuilding was brought about by the plan of certain dissatisfied settlers to invade the possessions of Spain in Louisiana. The settlers had become exasperated by the failure of the government to enforce the free navigation of the Mississippi. To be more definite, the mouth of the Ohio river was discovered by Marquette and Joliet in the progress of their exploration of the Mississippi in 1673.

In 1699 the French, having made a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi river, opened communication between that place and Canada by means of the Illinois river. They began to form a design to join these two colonies together. They assigned the river Illinois to be the boundary between them, and denominated all the country southward to the Gulf of Mexico by the name of Louisiana, in honor of their king, Louis XIV. They began in the infancy of this southern colony to build forts along the Mississippi, and by degrees to enter into the Ohio, at whose mouth they built a fort also; by which river and the Wabash they found a much shorter and more convenient route to and from Quebec than by that of the Illinois. Meanwhile the English continued their intercourse and traffic with the Indians of the Ohio country, so much to their advantage that in 1716 Colonel Spotswood, then Governor of Virginia, got a law passed there for erecting a company to trade with them. (State of the British and French colonies in North America; London, 1755.)

Thus, at this early date the historic rivalry of France and England manifested itself, even in this far off wilderness. While England was colonizing the Atlantic coast, France was establishing a new empire in the heart of the continent along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi valley. Each had its Indian al-

lies; the English had the Iroquois, the French had the Algonquins. The French paved the way by sending zealous missionaries of the Jesuit and other orders to win the Indians to Christianity; the traders gave them a fair value for their furs, and the soldiers shared their hardships and repelled their enemies. Wherever a village of Indians was found, the French established a fort and a mission. The posts were either trading stations or built to protect the traders and the Indians. We have descriptions of many of them; a palisaded house or two, a little guardhouse and a cabin to serve as storehouse. Of such a type was probably Assumption, the first post erected upon this historic site. Details of much of its history are lacking. After having served a useful existence for many years, its occupancy appears to have been abandoned by the French for military purposes, about 1750. During its later existence it was known variously as the "Old Fort" and as the "Old Cherokee Fort." (So says Van Cleve, 1794.) During the crisis in the French and Indian war, when the English had determined to drive every vestige of French power from this continent, the old post was rebuilt and made quite a respectable fortress. This was in 1758, and the fort was called by the French "Fort Massiac," no doubt in honor of the French minister of the marine, M. de Massiac, under King Louis XV. It was known by the French from 1758 to 1765 as Massiac. It was one of a chain of forts, beginning with Fort Niagara, which were intended to confine the English colonies to the strip along the Atlantic coast. During the short period when Spain owned the French claim to the Northwest territory, it is said that the fort was occupied by Spanish soldiers.

After the surrender of the French possessions to the English the fort is known in the reports of the latter as Fort Massac, from 1763 to 1778. Since 1778 it has always been known by the Americans as Fort Massac (sometimes unauthorizedly as Fort Massacre, but never officially by that name). The earliest authentic recital of the legend of the "massacre" is made by Collot, 1796, and Baily, 1797, both of whom received it directly from the Canadian habitants residing in the vicinity of the fort. The first publication of it was made, however, by F. Cuming in "Sketches of a Tour in the Western Country," Pittsburg.

Again according to the authorities of La Harpe, and the later historian, Charlevoix; the French, in the year 1700, established a trading post for the purpose of securing buffalo hides near the mouth of the "Ouabache" which discharges into the Mississippi.

In August, 1702, M. Juchereau de St. Denis, accompanied by 34 Canadians, including Father Mermet, departed from the Mission at Kaskaskia, in the Illinois, on his expedition to form a settlement at the mouth of the Ohio, where he proposed to engage in the fur trade with the Indians. Count de Pontchartrain, then chancellor of France, was very desirous that this post should be established.

Juchereau appears to have enlisted sufficiently powerful friends in his behalf, although Governor de Callieres and Intendant de Champigny protested Oct. 5, 1701, to the ministry at Paris that the loss of the castor trade would result in the destruction of the colony of Can-

ada. They also presented a protest against the concession which had been already granted to Juchereau for the fur trade along the Mississippi, but through the influence with the king of Madame la Comtesse de Saint Pierre, his petition was granted.

A letter of Count de Pontchartrain dated Versailles, June 4, 1701, addressed to M. de Callieres, governor of New France and M. de Champigny, intendant of police, notified them of the concession which had been granted to Juchereau, by authority of the king. The license describes Juchereau as being a lieutenant general in the jurisdiction of Montreal, and gave him the right to pass to the Mississippi river with 24 men in eight canoes for the purpose of establishing a tannery. This was an unusually liberal concession. La Hontan states (New Voyage to North America) that the licenses were usually limited to two canoes.

M. Juchereau was accompanied by Father Jean Mermet, who acted as chaplain to the French and missionary to the Indians; the neighboring Mascoutins, who were later associated with the Kickapoos—as was customary with the Indians—having soon gathered about the post for the purpose of barter.

Farther Mermet established a branch mission which was called Assumption. It was the pious custom of the period to dedicate to the patronage of some saint such works and enterprises as this. The feast of the Assumption is celebrated in the Catholic church on August 15, so that it is probable that the post and mission of the Assumption was founded August 15, 1702.

It thus appears as a matter of history, that the first religous discourse ever preached on the Ohio river was preached on the site of the later Fort Massac over 200 years ago by the learned Mermet, he being the first preacher of any Christian church who discoursed the gospel of Christ in this part of the present State of Illinois.

An interesting example of the efforts of this devoted missionary to convert the savages at Assumption is preserved for us in the letter of Father Marest to Father Germon from Kaskaskia, Nov. 12, 1712.

"Father Mermet believed that he ought also to labor for the conversion of the Mascoutens, who had set up a village on the borders of the same river; this is a tribe of savages who understand the Illinois language, but who, because of the extreme attachment which they have for the superstitions of their Charlatans, were not very much inclined to listen to the instructions of the missionary.

"The course that Father Mermet took was to perplex in the presence of this people, one of these Charlatans, who worshipped the ox as his great manitou. After having led him insensibly so far as to avow that it was not the ox which he adored, but an ox manitou which was under the earth, which animated all oxen, and which restored life to his sick people, he asked him if the other animals—like the bear, for instance, which his comrades worshipped—were not likewise animated by a manitou which is under the earth. 'Without doubt,' answered the Charlatan. 'But if this be so,' returned the missionary, 'men ought also to have a manitou which animates them.' 'Nothing is more certain,' said the Charlatan.' 'That is suf-

ficient for me to convince you that you are not very reasonable,' replied the missionary, for, if man, who is on the earth be the master of all animals, if he will kill them, if he eat them, it must be that the manitou which animates man, is also the master of all the other manitous; where then is your intelligence, that you do not invoke him, who is the master of all others?' "

M. Juchereau died at the fort about two years after its establishment; probably in 1704.

In 1705, the establishment was broken up on account of a quarrel of the Indians among themselves, in which, unfortunately, the French, in trying to keep the peace, became involved to the extent that, their lives were endangered and they fled for safety, leaving behind all their store of trade and barter, together with 13,000 buffalo skins which they had collected for shipment to Canada.

Tradition is insistent that there was a mission and fortified trading station on this site from 1710 or 1711, to guard the French fur traders from the marauding Cherokees, and that it remained only a small fort until the French and Indian war in 1756.

September 12, 1712, Louis XIV granted to Anthony Crozat, the monopoly of the trade of Louisiana; this concession included the Illinois country and placed it under the jurisdiction of Louisiana. Lamothe Cadillac was appointed Governor of Louisiana; having received positive instructions to assist the agents of Crozat in establishing trading posts or settlements on the "Ouabache" or Ohio and the Illinois, he wrote back to the ministry:

"I have seen Crozat's instructions to his agents. I thought they issued from a lunatic asylum and there appeared to be no more sense in them than in the Apocalypse. What— Is it expected that, for any commercial or profitable purpose, boats will ever be able to run up the Mississippi into the Wabash, the Missouri or the Red River. One might as well try to bite a slice off the moon. Not only are those rivers as rapid as the Rhone, but in their crooked course, they imitate to perfection snake's undulations. Hence, for instance, on every turn of the Mississippi, it would be necessary to wait for a change of the wind, if wind could be had, because this river is so lined up with thick woods that very little wind has access to its bed."

Louisiana at this time, in French geography, included the entire valley of the Mississippi and its tributary streams; all west of the Alleghany mountains was regarded by France as part of her domain. The English colonies along the Atlantic coast claimed that the ambitious designs of France interferred with the grants made by the British crown. Their division by local jealousies and lack of cohesion prevented any concerted action between them to counteract the aggressions of the French. France was, therefore, permitted to establish her influence throughout the whole valley of the Ohio river, and to build strong houses for the Indians, without molestation. The Shawneess were met by Canadian traders, and their chiefs invited to visit the French Governor of Montreal. Having done so, Joncaire, a wily emissary from New France descended

the Ohio with them, and the whole tribe put themselves under the protection of Louis XV. Brown, in his history, of Illinois attributes the erection of Fort Massac to this period, about 1731, and gives the following very doubtful legend for the origin of the name afterward given to it:

"The savages, becoming dissatisfied with the French, by a curious stratagem effected its capture. A number of Indians appeared in the day time, on the opposite side of the river, each of whom was covered with a bear skin, and walked on all fours; the French supposing them to be bears, crossed the river with a considerable force, in pursuit of the supposed bears and the remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime, a large body of warriors who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, and entered it without opposition; and a few only of the French garrison escaped the carnage."

"The French afterward built another fort on the same ground, and, in commemoration of the disastrous event, called it Fort Massac or Massacre, which name it still retains."

This legend is only introduced at this point in connection with the construction of 1731, because it is so mentioned by Brown.

The encroachments of the English traders on the territory of the French, continued and increased. The Ohio river valley was debatable ground and incursions and reprisals were continually being made by both sides. Alliances were made with the Indians and these were encouraged in their atrocities on the settlements of the opposing colonies.

Indubitable testimony of the map-makers might be produced to indefinite lengths, to show a historical connection between the site occupied by Juchereau, the fur trader, and the site known as Massac or Massiac, during the French and Indian war.

Conflicts between the French and English soon brought evil days to the French colonies in America. France claimed all the country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries. England claimed all the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, on the ground that the discovery and occupation of the seacoast entitled her to the possession of the country. War soon followed these rival claims, but for a long time, Illinois, by its remoteness, escaped the harassments of the conflict: In 1752, the French burnt down the first English trading house established west of the Alleghany mountains, reprisals were made, and thus, in 1756, the war began. Braddock was defeated in 1755, near Fort DuQuesne.

The French flotilla dropped down the Ohio for nearly a thousand miles, passing on the way the mouths of the Shawnee (Cumberland) and Cherokee (Tennessee) rivers. Arriving at the site of the old fortlet, Assumption, on the northern bank of the river, about 36 miles above its mouth, M. Aubry, the French commander, halted and landed his troops.

They were well acquainted with the country; many of them, notably St. Ange de Belle Rive and his followers, having gone from Illinois to Fort Du Quesne, to help in the defense of the latter place It was only 120 miles by land to Kaskaskia, and but a little further to Fort Chartres. In four days one could go hence to the Illinois. They determined, upon the elevated embankment overlooking the mouth of the Cherokee river, ten miles above, and commanding a view of the "beautiful river," eighteen miles below, to erect a fort and make a stand against their English foes. The stand was final, and from the day—sad day (to them)—when, by order of their superiors, the French garrison at Massiac retired to Fort Chartres, no French garrison has trod this classic shore.

Having determined to erect this "new fort on a beautiful eminence on the north bank of the river," the work was speedily accomplished.

This new stronghold was but an enlargement of the old fortlet. However, it was made quite a respectable fortress, considering the wilderness it was in.

It is described as a stockade, with four bastions and eight pieces of cannon. It would contain 100 men.

It has been stated by many historians, (Wallace, History of Louisiana and Illinois; President Roosevelt, Winning of the West; Winsor, Mississippi Valley, and many others), that the fort was constructed by a young French engineer, M Massac or Marsiac, and that the name, Fort Massac, was bestowed in his honor for having directed the work; by some, that it was he who first commanded there.

I have not been able to find any contemporaneous reference to any French officer named Massac or Marsiac.

In a letter from M. de Vaudreuil. governor of Canada, June 24, 1760, from Montreal to M. Berryer, minister of war at Paris, communicating reports from the commandant at Fort Chartres, and in reports of the latter, the name is given as Fort Massaiac.

Monsieur de Massiac was minister of the marine and colonies under King Louis XV, from the 1st of June, 1758, to the 1st of November, 1758; during this period the fort was constructed or rebuilt. Until the commencement of the French and Indian war as it is known in this country, all colonial affairs were placed under the jurisdiction of the ministry of the marine and colonies; after this war commenced, the ministry of war appears to have exercised jurisdiction over such affairs. Unfortunately, many of the archives of both departments were wantonly destroyed by the revolutionists in Paris in 1793 throwing into hopeless confusion many historical facts relating to American history.

However, to resume our story. One hundred men were left at the fort for garrison duty; with the rest and most of his cannon, M. Aubry returned to Fort Chartres.

Massiac was the last fort erected by the French on the Ohio river and was occupied by the French garrison until the country was surrendered to the English.

During the month of June, 1759, 300 soldiers and militia, and 600 Indians marched from the Illinois country via Fort Massiac for the relief of Fort Niagara.

In June, 1759, M. de Macarty, commandant at Fort Chartres, placed a party of Chaouanon Indians near Fort Massiac, with provisions. "They were more useful and less dangerous there," he said.

Early in 1760 the governor of Canada ordered that Fort Massiac be rebuilt and strongly fortified.

April 12, 1760, M. de Macarty, in referring to the operations of the English at Pittsburg, states that he has "caused Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a strong ditch."

M. Hertel, who had maintained his ground among the Indians on the Scioto, reported that numerous English prisoners from Carolina were brought to him by the savages. Though they seemed friendly, Hertel recommended an early removal of the Scioto Indians to a point near Fort Massiac.

The French were vanquished in the war and peace was concluded by the treaty of Paris, Feb. 10, 1763. They ceded to the English the whole of Canada and all of that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi river, together with the French posts and settlements on the Ohio.

In "An account of the French forts ceded to Great Britain in Louisiana by this treaty of 1763, written by an officer well acquainted with the places he described," is the following:

"Thirteen leagues from the Mississippi, on the left bank of the Ohio, is Fort Massac, or Assumption, built in 1757 or 1758, a little below the mouth of the Cherokee. It is of consequence for the English to preserve it, as it secured the communication between the Illinois and Fort Pitt."

The French garrison was directed to give up the fort by a special order of April 21, 1764, but they continued to hold it for another year.

I have a list of the French commandants of the Illinois country, with headquarters at Fort Chartres. They exercised more or less direct command over old Fort Assumption and the later Fort Massiac. They must have made many reports regarding these old posts, which, though at present inaccessible, may yet turn to light.

They were: Pierre Duque de Boisbriant, 1718–1725; Captain du Tisne, temporary, 1725–1726; Sieur de Liette. 1726–1730; Louis St. Ange de Belle Rive, 1730–1734; Pierre d'Artaguette, 1734–1736; Alphonse de la Buissoniere, 1736–1740; Benoist de St. Clair, 1740–1743; Chevalier de Birtel, 1743–1749; St. Clair again, 1749–1751; Chevalier de Macarty, 1751–1760; Neyon de Villiers, 1760–1764; St. Ange again, 1764–1765.

Captain Thomas Stirling, after the treaty of 1763, embarked in boats at Fort Pitt with 100 veteran Highlanders of the Forty-second English regiment and descended the Ohio to its mouth, accepting the surrender of Fort Massiac en route.

Uniform of an officer of the 42d Royal Highlanders or "Black Watch," British troops. Served in America, 1756–1767.

England does not appear to have made any attempt to repair and occupy the fort then given up by the French, though urged to do so by her military agents in the west. Had they held and garrisoned Fort Massiac, no doubt Clark's expedition to capture the great northwest might easily have been nipped in the bud.

In 1766, Captain Harry Gordon, chief engineer in the western department in North America, was sent from Fort Pitt down the Ohio, etc., to the Illinois. He states that on the 6th of August he "Halted at Fort Massiac, formerly a French post. The French," he says, "fixed a post here to protect their trades against the Cherokees, and it would be proper for the English to have one on the same spot, to prevent an illicit trade being carried on up the Wabash."

Captain Thomas Hutchins of the 60th regiment of Foot, made reconnaissances of the country of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers between 1764 and 1775, while acting as an engineer officer. The 60th Foot was also known in the British army as the "Royal American Regiment." He afterwards joined the Americans in the Revolution and was appointed geographer of the United States and invented the system of laying out lands by township lines run on the true meridian, six miles apart, at right angles east and west, parallel to the equator; under his plan, our government lands have been surveyed to the present day. He visited the "remains" of Fort Massac, and stated that the situation was high, healthy and delightful. His map, 1778, is the earliest published which shows the road between Massac and Kaskaskia.

It will be noted that, in the French official correspondence of 1759-60 already cited, the name of the fort is given as Massiac; by these British officials, the letter "i" is omitted from the name, and it becomes Massac; this mutilated form has survived to the present, probably giving rise to the legend of massacre.

The names of the English commandants of the Illinois Country are herewith; like the French, some important reports by them may yet be brought to light: Capt. Thomas Stirling, 1765; Maj. Robert Farmar, 1765; Col. Edward Cole, 1766: Col. John Reed, 1768; Lieut. Col. John Wilkins; 1768; Capt. Hugh Lord, 1771; Capt. Matthew Johnson, 1775 to 1781.

The occupancy of the country by the British lasted 13 years. Nothing of note appears accessible during this interval. As before stated, the British made no use of the post, and this disregard of the advice of her military agents, no doubt. cost the British government dear; as it was, Clark's approach and occupancy of Illinois territory was comparatively easy. It was here upon this expedition that the flag of the new union of the colonies was unfurled within the territory now constituting the State of Illinois.

Fort Massac was not occupied by troops again, until the trouble began with Spain and France in 1794, when it was rebuilt and occupied under the special orders of President Washington, March 31, 1794.

When the French agent, Genet, was fomenting his scheme for capturing Louisiana and Florida from Spain, by the aid of western filibusters, old Fort Massac was thought of by the conspirators as a rallying place and base of supplies.

The condition of affairs along the Mississippi during 1794, became alarming, and had not some military measures been taken to check the excitement, war with Spain, which then held the posts from New Madrid to New Orleans, was highly probable. Genet, the French minister to the United States, had deliberately planned two expeditions to invade the Spanish dominions in Florida and Louisiana; the latter was to be carried down the Ohio from Kentucky, and he granted commissions to American citizens who privately recruited troops for the proposed service.

The governor of Kentucky, Shelby, in effect, declined to interfere with the proposed expedition; President Washington, March 24, 1794, issued his own proclamation, apprizing the people of the west of the unlawful project and warning them of the consequences of engaging in it. March 31, 1794, he ordered General Wayne, who had military jurisdiction over the region, to send a detachment to Fort Massac "to erect a strong redoubt and block-house, with some suitable cannon from Fort Washington (Cincinnati), for the purpose of stopping by force, if peaceable means should fail, any body of armed men who should proceed down the Ohio, and threaten hostilities with Spain."

General Wayne, accordingly sent a detachment from his already depleted legion under the command of Major Thomas Doyle, to serve as a garrison at Fort Massac. This was its first occupancy by the military forces of the United States.

Fortunately the voluminous journal of Benjamin Van Cleve,* an intelligent pioneer, guide and trapper, has been preserved, by which many of the details of the rebuilding can be learned.

These prompt measures by the American officials had the effect of preventing the expedition from passing down the river, and with the ending of the conspiracy Genet left the country.

Fort Massac, thus rebuilt and garrisoned, was a post of considerable importance and remained such until after the collapse of Burr's conspiracy.

The firm interference of President Washington in preventing the violation of Spanish territory by American filibusters and French Jacobins, was ill requited by the Spanish authorities. Almost as soon as his apprehensions for Louisiana were relieved, Baron de Carondelet recommenced his favorite machinations to detach the west from the Union and ally it to the Spanish possessions west of the Mississippi. Among other things, Fort Massac was to be captured by the adventurers, whom Spain was to supply with the sinews of war. Among the proposals of Baron Carondelet was the following:

"Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac shall be taken possession of by the troops of the new government, which shall be furnished by His Catholic Majesty, without loss of

*Van Cleve's Journal, last article in appendix to this paper.

time, with 20 field pieces, with their carriages and every necessary appendage, including powder, ball, etc., together with a number of small arms, and ammunition sufficient to equip the troops that it shall be necessary to raise. The whole to be transported at his expense to the already mentioned Fort Massac. His Catholic Majesty will further supply the sum of $100,000 for the raising and maintaining of said troops, which sum shall also be conveyed to, and delivered at Fort Massac."

Finally all these intrigues failed to produce their expected effects. Time, Washington's administration and prudence, and a concourse of favorable circumstances, had served to consolidate the Union. This government having secured from Spain by treaty, Oct. 20, 1795, the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, which was the absorbing topic of the period, the principal object of contention of the western people was gained and this interesting episode in western history was practically ended.

With the close of the Revolutionary war, a rush of immigration came down the great Ohio river. It was more or less checked by border warefare which lasted until about 1794. During that year there was a rising of the southwestern tribes of Indians. Many dreadful depredations were committed by them upon the settlers along the Tennessee, Cumberland and Ohio rivers. It became necessary to send relief to Major Doyle, then in command at Fort Massac. This was afforded by a detachment of Kentucky militia under Lieutenant Bird, who arrived at the post October 19 and served there until Dec. 31, 1794. Major Doyle stated, in October, 1794, that the relief would be necessary in order to protect the valuable settlement and the trade along the river as his own force, from the smallness of the force and the number of sick, could only be expected to defend the fort. The final victory of Mad Anthony Wayne, at the battle of Fallen Timbers, however, broke the back of savagery east of the Mississippi, but it was not until the treaty of Greenville, Aug. 3, 1795, the result of Wayne's brilliant dash into the wilderness, that the war of the Revolution may properly be said to have ended in the west.

By the treaty of August 3, 1795, at Greenville, between Gen. Anthony Wayne and the chiefs of eleven tribes of Indians, by its 4th article, "the said Indian tribes relinquished all the title and claim which they or any of them have" to "The Post of Fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio."

The various intrigues of the period, by the French, the Spanish and the English, trying to secure the control of the western country, induced a number of agents, military and civil, to make tours of investigation, the reports of many of which have survived. One of the most interesting and valuable of these is a military memoir by Gen. Victor Collot. He served during the American Revolution, on the staff of the French army under the command of Marshal Rochambeau. M. Adet, the minister of the French republic at the United States, in Philadelphia, "24th Ventose, 4th year of the French re-

public, one of the indivisible," confided "to the citizen Victor Collot, general of brigade, the duty of making a report on the state of the western part of this country." His survey of the Ohio river was made in 1796, but the report, which is a minute description of the military resources and the fortifications of the western country, was not printed until 1826. In his interesting and valuable description of the Ohio he states:

"Fort Massac is so called by the Americans, and Fort Massacre by the Canadians. It is a post anciently established by the French and abandoned at the time of the cession of Louisiana; it has lately been repaired, and has been occupied two years by the Americans."

Francis Baily, the noted English astronomer, made a tour of the West in 1796 and 1797. In his journal he says of Fort Massac: "It takes its name from a cruel massacre of the garrison by the Indians, when the French had possession of it."

"The Fort is still kept up by the Americans as a guard to the frontiers against any attack from this quarter. There are about 30 families settled round it, and the garrison consists at this time, of 83 men commanded by Captain Zebulon Pike, an experienced officer, who behaved to us with the greatest politeness and attention."

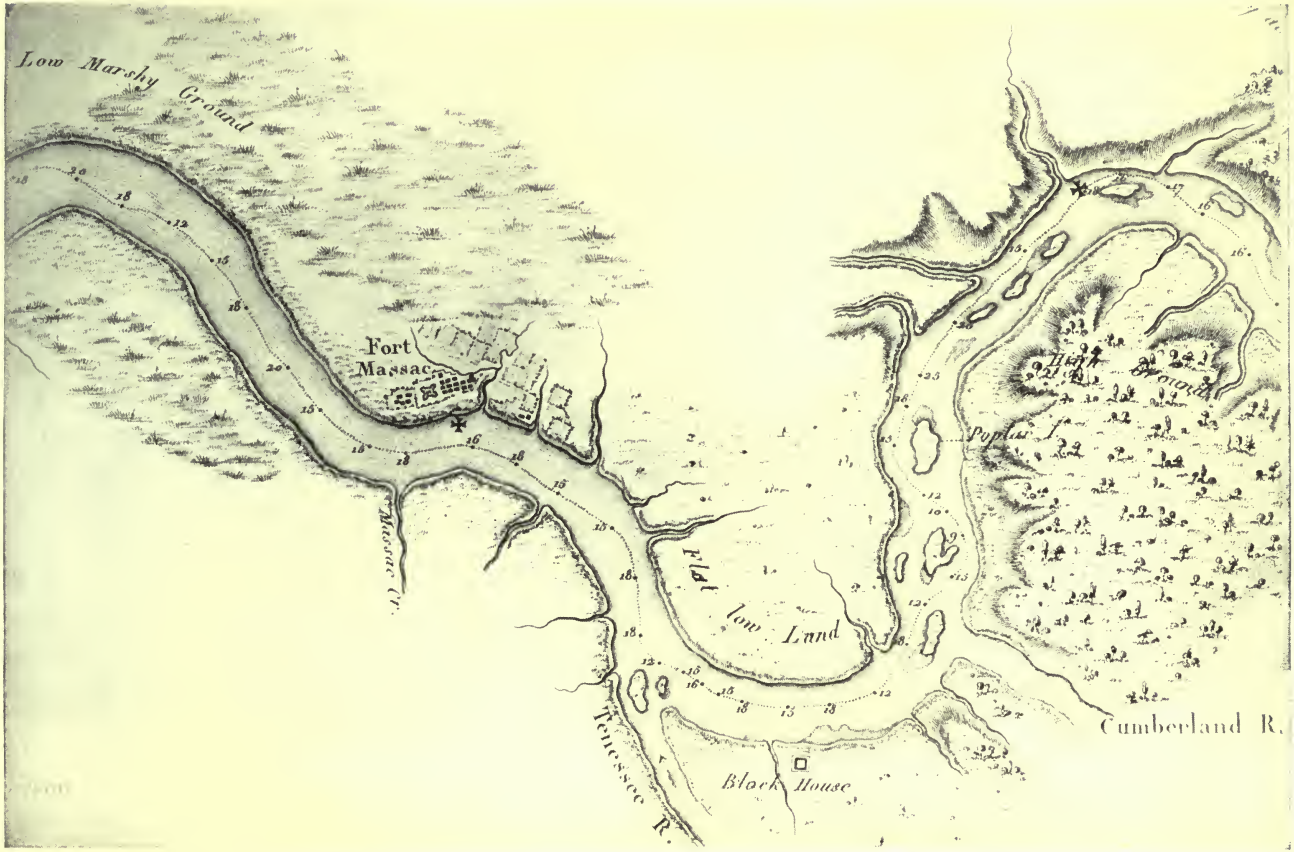
The troubles with the foreign powers, particularly France, continuing Sept. 4, 1799, Gen. James Wilkinson submitted to General Hamilton a project for the defense of the western frontier contiguous to the territories of Spain and Great Britain; this was to include the change of station of some companies of artillery then at Fort Massac, its strength, however, to remain the same number of men, that is, 100, consisting of artillery and infantry; this was approved by Generals Hamilton and Washington, but the unexpected accommodation of our differences with France and the sudden reduction of our army rendered the proposed changes unnecessary.

Generals Anthony Wayne and James Wilkinson, when commanders-in-chief of the United States army, occupied the fort and for periods of time made it their headquarters.

Governor John Reynolds in his history of "My own Times," states that when he was a child, his family emigrated from Tennessee and reached Illinois in 1800, crossing the Ohio river and landing at Fort "Massacre." At that time, there were two companies of the United States army stationed there and perhaps a few families resided near the Fort and were dependent on it. This was the only white settlement between the Ohio and the Mississippi.

During the summer of 1801, "Cantonment Massac" was inspected by Major Jonathan Williams; while he was engaged on this tour of inspection, he was ordered to West Point, N. Y., to command the embyro military school, now the United States Academy, of which he was the founder.

A treaty of peace was concluded at Vincennes, in the then Indiana Territory, Aug. 13, 1803, between Gov. William Henry Harrison, superintendent of Indian affairs, commissioner plenipotentiary of



Extract from Victor Collot's Atlas of the Ohio River, showing vicinity of Fort Massac. Atlas published in 1826.

the United States, etc., and the head chiefs and warriors of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians. Among the provisions was one that part of the annuity to be paid to the Indians might be paid to them at Fort Massac.

So late as 1812 this fort was repaired and used for defensive purposes during the war with Great Britain, when it was furnished with a new stockade, and occupied by the Illinois mounted rangers, who were entrusted with the defense of the border against the incursions of hostile Indians, or still more hostile British soldiers.

During the summer of 1812, Col. E. P. Gaines recruited a regiment in Tennessee. During the following winter it was stationed at Fort Massac, where it was drilled and received military instruction; the next spring it made its appearance on the Canadian frontier, where it, General Gaines and the other officers gained immortal honor in the battles they fought with the enemy.

For fully 40 years there was agitated in and out of Congress, a proposition for the establishment of a national armory on some one of the western waters. Oct. 14, 1841, a board of army officers was appointed by the Secretary of War for the purpose of selecting a suitable site for the establishment of this armory. The board was composed of Gen. W. K. Armistead, president, and Surg.-Gen. Thomas Lawson and Lieut.-Col. S. H. Long of the topographical corps, as members. After examining 48 sites, a majority of the board made a report to the Secretary of War, dated Harper's Ferry, Jan. 28, 1843, and recommended Massac as the most suitable site for the armory. However, the project finally fell through, and the armory was subsequently located at Rock Island.

Gov. John Reynolds visited Fort Massac in 1855, and he thus describes it in his "My Own Times:" The outside walls were 135 feet square, and at each angle bastions were erected. The walls were palisaded, with earth between the wood. A large well was sunk in the fortress; and the whole appeared to have been strong and substantial in its day. Three or four acres of gravel walks were made on the north front of the fort, on which the soldiers paraded. These walks were made in exact angles, and are beautifully graveled with pebbles from the river. The site is one of the most beautiful on La Belle Riviere, and commands a view that is charming. There are the remains of the unstoned well near the center. The ditch surrounding the earth works is still some 2½ or 3 feet below the surrounding level, and the breastworks about 2 feet above the inner level. The graveled sentry walk may also be traced."

It was a commanding view indeed of land and river which was enjoyed by the different garrisons of old Fort Massac. Up stream, there is a stretch of 11 miles to the mouth of the Tennessee; both up and down, the shore lines are under full survey, until they melt away in the distance. No enemy could well surprise the holders of this key to the Lower Ohio.

It is the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution who have assumed the responsibility of taking the initiative in seeking to kin-

dle renewed interest in this "Old Romance of the Wilderness." It is for the purpose of preserving and beautifying old Fort Massac, so rich in historic associations, that we have asked the State authorities, through our representatives in the Legislature, for the appropriation of an amount, needed for the restoration and repair of this spot, perpetually.*

This noble policy of preserving the ancient landmarks of our national growth and struggles, besides fostering a spirit of gratitude to the self-sacrificing heroes of earlier days, teaches its own lessons of patriotism and duty, to the great youth of the land, with whom rests its future, and for whom, we would fain preserve unlowered and untarnished standards and ideals.

I have been asked time and again, why, in this material age, the Daughters of the American Revolution should yield to a mere sentiment, in this matter of marking old graves and restoring old historic sites, and have been advised that these two century old by-gones, should be relegated to the past, in behalf of more urgent interests of the day and hour.

I admit it is a sentiment and merely a sentiment, but a patriotic sentiment, strong and ineradicable as a law of nature, which has led the Daughters of the American Revolution to set their hearts and minds to do something which shall redound to the permanence and glory of Americanism.

In the east there are many landmarks of the great struggle that made us a nation, and it is the patriotic privilege of our society in these states, to inaugurate, by state and other available means, successful measures for the preservation of the sacred relics, of a vanished age, and point to them as object lessons in patriotism. Are landmarks of Illinois' heroic era less sacred than those in other parts of America? We trust not, and it is in this hope that the Daughters of the American Revolution in Illinois are striving to accomplish a similar patriotic service for our great commonwealth, in preserving at least this one monument of the romantic era of our history.

Difficulties in this task we have set ourselves—of course there are difficulties. Would we succeed in this effort, we women must enlist arms stronger than ours, feet swifter to run and shod with tempered metal—experience in fields we have not entered, and a skill we have wisely not mastered in legislative arenas. To the Illinois State Historical society and to the men who make, interpret, and administer our laws, must our plea be made. Without their chivalrous help, no appropriation for the purchase and care of old Fort Massac can be secured. For this reason it is that the memorial and bill affixed to this paper have been presented to members of the 43d General Assembly of the State of Illinois, and in this modest effort we are making to preserve under State supervision one of the most ancient and historical monuments in the west, if not the most ancient and historical, we are simply fulfilling our tacit pledge as Daughters of the American Revo-

*A copy of the bill as passed will be found in the "Addendum" to this volume.

Uniform of United States Army, 1783–1796. Infantry and Artillery. Reproduced from the records of the War Department by permission of the Quartermaster General of the United States.

lution' "to perpetuate the spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and the erection of monuments."

It is our hope, and prayer too, that upon this old site, which, though mutilated and in ruins, remains the noblest and most beautiful landmark of the early pioneer history of the west—tablet or shaft may yet rise commemorative of George Rogers Clark and his heroic comrades, and add its inarticulate tribute to the patriotism and devotion of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution.

APPENDIX.

The following is the description by the Board of Army Officers of Fort Massac at the time of their personal examination and published in their report dated Jan. 28, 1843. House Doc. 133, 27-3:

Massac, or Massacre, (so-called from the slaughter by the Indians soon after the occupancy of this part of the country by the French), is situated on a beautiful plain on the northern side of the Ohio river, 38 miles from its mouth; 10 miles below Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee river, 22 miles below Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland river; 67 miles below the coal fields in the neighborhood of Caseyville; 293 miles below Louisville; 870 miles below Wheeling and 960 miles below Pittsburg.

It includes the site formerly occupied by a fort of the same name and commands an extensive view of the river, both above and below. The fort stood upon the highest part of the plain, elevated about 20 feet above the reach of the highest freshets. From this position which is near the margin of the river, the surface of the plain declines very gradually, both above and below, and especially in the rear; its dip in these directions being so slight that it is hardly perceptible. With the exception of a few small valleys and several ravines, that serve as drains and passways between the plain and the river, no part of the tract has an elevation less than ten feet above the range of the highest freshet, or 50 feet above extreme low water-mark.

The river in this vicinity has a width varying from five-eighths to three quarters of a mile, and presents favorable landings along the Illinois shore from Massac to the head of the Grand Chain ten miles below. Through this distance, and, indeed, for an equal extent below, the uplands approach so near the river that bottoms or flats of any considerable area are excluded. A little above the old fort is a cove-like recess, of small dimensions, at the mouth of a run into which the water of the river in a high stage is backed. Three-fourths of a mile below the same point is another similar recess of larger extent, at the mouth of another run. Through these depressions and the runs leading to them every desirable facility is afforded for draining the surface of the extensive plain on which Massac is situated. The entire width occupied by the river at this place, even when swelled by a freshet to its greatest magnitude, does not exceed a mile; there being no bottom land on the northerly side, and a strip

three or four hundred yards wide only on the southerly side, subject to overflows. The valley becomes wider both above and below Massac, and the bottom lands included within it become much more extensive. The valley is bounded on both sides by gently sloped hills, rather than bluffs, the summits of which are connected with extensive upland regions, of a rolling aspect and of moderate height, reaching far to the north and the south, and uniting in the former direction with the Illinois prairies, and in the latter with the barrens of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Grand Chain is a rocky bar, commencing at a point ten miles below Massac, and extending downward eight miles to a point two miles above Caledonia, or seventeen miles above the mouth of the river. At the head and foot of this chain, or bar, the extreme low water depth in the deepest channel is only three feet; while at all intermediate points on the bar a much greater depth prevails. So a low stage seldom occurs, the ordinary low water depth being usually not less than four feet. The rocks that occur at the chain are a coarse, hard sand stone, fragments of which, in the shape of bowlders, pebbles, and gravel, are strewed in considerable profusion along the Illinois shore, from the head to the foot of the chain.

At Massac, the river shore presents a coarse conglomerate of sand, gravel, and pebbles, strongly cemented with iron, which here and there occurs in large masses, but for the most part is reduced to fragments which cover the surface of the beach, and form a handsome and firm escarpment, sloping from the surface of the plain to the margin of the water in the lowest stage, thus contributing to form an easy and commodious landing.

The plain at Massac extends northwardly and westwardly more than a mile and a half, and presents a surface remarkably uniform, here and there interrupted by ravines or runs of moderate depth, which serve as drains to carry off the water that falls upon its surface.

The land may be regarded as second rate only, and is mostly unimproved, sustaining an open growth of white and red oak, post oak, poplar, elm and maple, white walnut, etc. When cleared and cultivated it yields tolerable crops of corn, wheat and other esculent plants and vegetables.

The neighboring bottom lands of the Ohio, both above and below, are exceedingly prolific and yield abundant crops of all the varieties of products reared in this part of the country.

A tract of 700 acres, including the site of Fort Massac, was formerly reserved by the United States for military purposes; but a few years since the Government was induced to relinquish the reservation, and authorize the sale of the land at public auction. It was bid off and purchased by the present proprietors, Messrs. J. Hynes, of Massac, J. M. Robinson and William Wilson, of Carmi, and A. Kirkpatrick and H. Eddy, of Shawneetown, at $7 per acre. A portion of the tract has been surveyed and laid off in town lots, and constitutes a considerable part of the town of Massac, which has a square

form, extending half a mile along the river shore, and an equal distance due north from its margin. The southeast angle of the town is situated at a point on the bank of the river, about one-fourth of a mile below the site of the old fort, from which its eastern boundary extends due north about half a mile.

The site deemed most suitable for the armory in this neigborhood is on the east side of the town, and in its immediate vicinity, and embraces the following parcels, viz:

1st. A tract, including the site of old Fort Massac, bounded on the west by the town of Massac, on the north by a line running due west half a mile from a line from the northeast corner of said town; on the east by a line running due south from the termination of the northern boundary just mentioned, and on the south by a line pursuing the margin of the river downward to the southeast angle of said town. This tract or parcel contains 147 acres.

2d. A tract situated on the north side of the tract just mentioned, and of the town site of Massac; its width from south to north being half a mile and its length from east to west being such that the tract will contain 453 acres—the southerly boundary of this tract being coincident with the northern boundary of the town site, and also with that of the tract first described.

3d. A tract of uniform width, containing 13 acres, may be added to the parcel first described, in contact with the eastern boundary of the same.

4th. A tract of 27 acres may be added to the second tract described, in such manner as may be required for the purpose of giving the most convenient form to the several parcels when combined; it being understood that no encroachments are to be made upon the town site for the purpose of making up the entire tract.

The aggregate of the several tracts above designated will amount to 640 acres, or one section of land, which, we are authorized by Colonel Haynes (who is agent for the proprietors above named) to state, may be purchased at a rate not exceeding $10 per acre for the several tracts above described; all of which may with propriety be comprehended in the site.

Other sites deemed less eligible than that above pointed out are to be met with in this vicinity. For example: A site having a front of half a mile on the river, and situated between the town of Massac and another incipient town, called Metropolis, of about the same area, one mile below Massac, may be regarded as worthy of some attention. It may be extended back from the river far enough to embrace an area sufficiently large for the accommodation of an armory. It has very favorable landings along its entire front, but presents a surface less elevated and more divided by ravines and gullies than the plain of Massac. The grounds in this direction being similar in all respects to those in the rear of Fort Massac, the cost of this site will probably not exceed $8 per acre.

Immediately below the town of Metropolis is another site, having a front of a mile on the river and an equal extent inland from the

river, and including about 600 acres of ground, a little less elevated than either of the sites before considered. The landings are here quite as favorable as those above, the surface quite as level and the soil somewhat richer than at either of the above sites. The entire tract under consideration is in an unimproved state and covered with a woodland growth. It may be purchased as a site for the armory at a rate not exceeding $10 per acre.

In comparison with the site at Fort Massac, the two localities I last described may be regarded as less favorable, on account of their reduced elevation, their liability to the encroachments of high freshets upon their margins, their nearer proximity to tracts of bottom land and their exposure to a more humid atmosphere.

The position of Massac, and the aspect and character of the surrounding country, seem to indicate as complete exemption from the causes of disease as those of any other position on the Ohio River from Wheeling to its mouth.

Intermittent and bilious fevers have sometimes prevailed, which is also true of all other points on or near the river; but here as well as at almost every other locality in the West, in proportion as the population increases, and improvements of all kinds are multiplied, the condition of the country, with regard to its healthfulness, will be ameliorated.

The plain of Massac is generally dry, inclining to aridity, except when drenched with copious rains, the water of which may be readily conveyed from its entire surface, by drains of easy formation. No stagnant pools or marshy grounds are to be found upon it, or in its neighborhood. The river passes it with a steady and gentle current, from shore to shore. Pure and wholesome water is supplied in sufficient abundance from springs along the shore, and may be obtained on the plain from wells sunk to the depth of 30 or 35 feet.

Inexhaustible supplies both of stone and cannel coal may be obtained from the coal fields near Caseyville, 55 miles above the site; and bituminous coal of equal value may be obtained from Muddy River, on the Mississippi, by water conveyance through a distance of 190 miles. Appearances justify the conclusion that the southern margin of the great Illinois coal field passes northwardly on this point, at a distance not greater than 20 or 25 miles.

Sandstone, adapted to the purpose of building, may be obtained from the river hills on the Kentucky side, a few miles above Massac. Limestone abounds within a distance of 20 or 30 miles, and copious supplies of building stone, of a superior quality, may be derived from the Tennessee River at numerous points six miles and upward from its mouth. Brick clay, of a good quality, may be had in abundance at and near the site.

The iron fields of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers lie at the distance of 20 to 30 miles to the southeast, from which abundant supplies of castings, pig metal, bar, boiler, hoop, sheet, nail iron, and nails may readily be obtained.

The forests in the neighborhood of the site abound in timber of the following varieties, viz: post, red, burr, and white oak, hickory, yellow poplar, gum, white ash, maple, wild cherry, yellow birch, black walnut, elm, cypress, cotton wood, sycamore, etc., and lumber of all kinds may be procured in abundance by water transportation from the Ohio, Tennessee and Cumberland rivers.

Provisions of all kinds can be furnished at Massac in as great profusion and on as favorable terms as at any other point on the western waters.

Massac is accessible all seasons of the year, and in all stages of the river, to steamboat navigation—the depths across the bars at the Grand Chain, in extreme low water, being at least 3 feet; which is the minimum depth not only from the mouth of the Ohio to this place but to Paducah, ten miles above; and thence up the Tennessee to the Chain, fourteen miles further, where abundant supplies of building stone may be obtained for purposes of construction.

Extracts From the Margry Papers.

The following information has been found in the Margry Papers—"Découvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Amérique Septentrionale:"

Feb. 27, 1700, at Paris, Juchereau de Saint Denis applied to Jerome Pontchartrain for authority to establish a colony on the Mississippi.

Juchereau appears to have enlisted sufficiently powerful friends in his behalf, among them Madame la Comtesse de Saint Pierre is named, and his petition was granted. In a letter of Count de Pontchartrain dated Versailles, June 4, 1701, addressed to M. de Callieres, governor of New France, and M. de Champigny, Intendant of Police, notified them of the concession which had been granted to Juchereau by authority of the King. The license describes Juchereau as being a Lieutenant General in the jurisdiction of Montreal, and gave him the right to pass to the Mississippi river with 24 men in eight canoes for the purpose of establishing a tannery. This was an unusually liberal concession. LaHontan states (New Voyages to North America) that the licences were usually limited to two canoes.

Upon receipt of the notice of this concession, Governor de Callieres and Intendant de Champigny protested, Oct. 5, 1701, to the ministry that the loss of the castor trade would result in the destruction of the colony of Canada, and prayed that the Ohio be established as its boundary and for the establishment of posts upon the Mississippi.

The Company of the Colony of Canada was organized to trade at Detroit, but found the charges imposed upon them for the privilege too heavy. The couriers de bois and the savages having ascended the Ohio to the Carolinas and established a trade in peltries with the English, the company prayed for the establishment of posts on the Miami, the Wisconsin, the country of the Sioux, and "a la riviere de

Ouabache dans le lieu ou elle se descharge dans le Mississippi," in order that the trade might be preserved for the French. (Quebec, Nov. 10, 1701.)

They also presented a protest against the concession which had been granted to Juchereau for the fur trade along the Mississippi.

Juchereau, in a memoir addressed to Madame la Comtesse de Saint Pierre, defended himself against the charges brought against him by certain people in Canada, jealous of the privileges granted him by M. de Pontchartrain at the solicitation of the Countess, and related the obstacles put in his way by the governor of Canada to prevent compliance with the terms of the contract.

Sept. 6, 1704, M. de Bienville reported to the minister that Juchereau de Saint Denis died the preceding autumn (1703), and that his band had been dispersed.

Sept. 6, 1710, M. de Remonville proposed, if the colony at Detroit were abandoned, that the habitants be sent to Mobile and Natchez, and one party "a la embouchere de la riviere d'Ouabache sur la Mississippi," there to prepare an establishment that, he predicted, would not, after a little time, be of mediocre consideration, on account of the abundance of copper and the number of buffaloes.

In a letter dated "Au Fort Massacre,* 12 Fevrier, 1710," Dirion d'Artaguette complained to Jerome Pontchartrain against the treatment accorded by M. de Lamothe, commandant at Detroit, to those coming to the Illinois country.

Bienville stated, Oct. 27, 1711, that the Mascoutins established along the Ohio continue in their attachment to the French.

CLARK AND THE AMERICAN FLAG.

George Rogers Clark certainly carried the American flag on his expedition for the conquest of the Northwest.

The flag of the United States was adopted by the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777.

His troops were never regarded as part of the Continental establishment; the funds for their military equipment were furnished by the State of Virginia; the men were recruited by Clark and his aids.

Clark landed at Fort Massac June 24, 1778; Kaskaskia was captured July 4. The first explicit mention of his flag by Clark is in his Memoir. After the capture of Kaskaskia, he determined to send Mr. Gibault with an address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes. Mr. Gibault and his party departed from Kaskaskia on July 14—(only ten days after its capture, and only 19 days after leaving Massac, the entire time having been occupied by the labors of the campaign.) To quote from the Memoir:

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* I have not yet been able to identify this Fort Massacre. If it be old Fort Massac, it negatives my former statement that it had never been known as Fort Massacre. Pierre d'Artaguette commanded the Illinois country, 1734-1736.—J. G. S.

"Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and after spending a day or two explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country,) and went in a body to the church; where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately garrisoned, and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes."

Again, at the siege of Vincennes, Feb. 23, 1779, before its retaking by the Americans, he reports the adroit use of flags to deceive the English garrison, as follows:

"In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person who set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pairs. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level, which was covered with water, and as these raisings generally ran in an oblique direction to the town, we took advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our men being numbered. But our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses; officers were mounted on these horses and rode about, more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a manner as to suffer it to be dark before we advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about 8:00 o'clock gained the heights back of the town," and so forth.

These extracts are from Clark's Memoir, reprinted in "Conquest of the Northwest" by William H. English, 1896, pages 488 and 530.

THEODOSIA BURR AND MRS. BLENNERHASSET.

In the summer of 1806, Theodosia spent some weeks with her father at Blennerhasset's island and on the Cumberland. In the fall they parted, he to plant his colony on the Washita and, if events favored, to set himself on the throne of the Montezumas; she returned to South Carolina to wait. ("The True Aaron Burr," by C. B. Todd, page 67.)

December 10, 1806, Blennerhasset left his island home under cover of the night with his batteaux, leaving Mrs. Blennerhasset with the two little boys to follow.

December 22, 1806, Burr dropped down the Cumberland from Nashville and at the mouth of the river the two parties met, Dec. 24, 1806; he made an address to the filibusters, visited Fort Massac, the

fleet passed the fort Dec. 29, and passed out of the Ohio into the waters of the rapid Mississippi, and moored at Bayou Pierre, Jan. 5, 1807.

December 16, 1806, Mrs. Blennerhasset returned from Marietta and found her home destroyed by the riotous militiamen; Dec. 17, she departed therefrom, her boat being lashed to that of A. W. Putnam of Belpré; in the latter part of December they passed the mouth of the Cumberland, where it had been expected that she would join her husband. Early in January, 1807, she was restored with her children to Blennerhasset, at Bayou Pierre, who received them with that deepfelt affection which a parent and husband only can appreciate. (William H. Safford's "Life of Blennerhasset," Chillicothe, 1850.)

Extracts From Official Records.

Compiled from old records of the offices of the Purveyor of Public Supplies and the Commissary General of Purchases as they were called—now the Depot Quartermaster in Philadelphia. These show the old Fort was continuously garrisoned as late as 1814. That year may, I suppose, be considered the year of its abandonment.

1797. Supplies were despatched from the United States Arsenal on the Schuylkill near Philadelphia by various "waggoners" addressed to Major Isaac Craig at Pittsburg, to be forwarded by him to the posts on the frontier.

Such a shipment of supplies of clothing was made Oct. 12, 1797, to the Commanding Officer at Fort Massac; the goods were sent to Major Craig at Pittsburg, by him to Col. R. J. Meigs at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, and by the latter to Fort Massac; from Pittsburg they were sent down the Ohio in "galleys." The goods consisted of uniform clothing for infantry soldiers: hats, stocks and clasps, coats, vests, linen overalls, woolen overalls, and shirts for privates, musicians and sergeants, white linen epaulettes, shoes and blankets, in quantity sufficient for 159 men. The uniform in use at the time was of the general revolutionary style, cocked hat, long frock coat and knee-breeches.

September 24, 1799, more clothing supplies were sent; for infantry and artillery this time.

November 22, 1799, "hospital" supplies were sent, consisting of allspice, barley, coffee, chocolate, mustard, pepper, raisins, rice, loaf sugar, brown sugar, lemon juice, bohea tea, brandy, vinegar, port wine, sherry wine, and molasses.

December 17, 1799, medicines were sent for the garrison.

1801, March 18, subsistence supplies were issued for Fort Massac.

1802, it is stated that one company of infantry is alloted to Fort Massac.

1803, March 7, and Feb. 3, 1804, the Secretary of War states in letters that there are stationed at Fort Massac, one company of artillerists and one company of the first regiment of infantry. Lieut. Wm. Swan or Swain was the Assistant Military Agent at Fort Massac.

Site of Old Fort Massac, showing a part of the elevation, west end of earthworks.

In December, 1804, a subaltern, corporal, sergeant and 23 men were ordered from Kaskaskia to Fort Massac preparatory to descending the river to Fort Adams on the Mississippi in the spring.

In December, 1804, Capt. Russell Bissell was the commanding officer at Fort Massac.

1805, March 11—Lyman's company of the First regiment of infantry was stationed there at this time.

1808, January, Capt. D. Bissell's company of the First regiment of infantry was stationed there.

The United States army at this time consisted of 20 companies of artillerists and two regiments of infantry (20 companies of infantry.)

April 7, 1809, medical and hospital supplies were ordered to be sent to "late Capt. D. Bissell, C. O. Fort Massac."

1809 to 1812, Capt. Sam Price, of the light artillery, was the commanding officer there.

1810, Feb. 6. One company was stationed there at this time.

1810, March 14. It is stated that one company is stationed there, the late Captain Gano's.

1810, April 7. Medicine sent.

1810, April 12. More medicine sent.

1810, April 16. Hospital stores and medicine sent to Captain Estes.

1810 to 1812. Henry Skinner was the physician at Fort Massac; he was rated as Surgeon's Mate.

1811, May 4. Supplies of clothing, subsistence and medicines sufficient for one company of artillery was sent.

1812, Aug. 14. Medicines and subsistence supplies sent.

1812. In August and September Colonel William P. Anderson was assigned to the duty of recruiting the Twenty-fourth regiment of United States infantry, and to the command of the regiment. Nashville and Knoxville were indicated to him as the most advantageous positions for his principal rendezvous. He was also directed to recruit for Captain Philips' company of artillery.

Oct. 9 he was directed "to take charge of the defense of Fort Massac," and to send there such part of his regiment as was organized. A few days later he was directed to order Captain Philips' company of artillery to the fort.

No doubt his efforts at recruiting met with great success, for on Dec. 11, 1812, a large quantity of supplies were sent from the arsenal on the Schuylkill to Fort Massac for the use of the Twenty-fourth United States infantry (addressed to Colonel Anderson) and for the use of the two companies of the Second United States artillery (addressed to Captain Philips). They were in quantity sufficient for 612 infantrymen and 90 artillerymen, and this is the largest garrison that probably ever was quartered at the old fortress. The supplies

consisted of hats, coats, vests, linen overalls, wool overalls, for privates, sergeants and musicians of infantry and artillery; cockades and eagles' feathers, epaulettes, shoes, stockings, socks, gaiters, trousers, frocks, buttons, blankets, hat bands, gunslings, musket flints, brushes and wires, cord, packing casks, knapsacks, colored thread, company books, printed books, papers of ink powder, foolscap paper, quarto post paper, quills and wafers in boxes.

The Twenty-fourth infantry remained at the fort during the winter of 1812–1813, and on March 10, 1813, the Secretary of War ordered Colonel Anderson to move to Cleveland, O. This was done accordingly.

Captain Joseph Philips remained at Fort Massac with one company of the Second regiment of artillery, and in June, 1813, clothing, medicines and subsistence supplies for 90 men were shipped to him.

Early in 1814, Jan. 22, Colonel Anderson of the Twenty-fourth infantry was ordered, at Nashville, "to immediately collect all the fragments of his regiment, wherever found, and with such recruits as have been found, march to Erie on Lake Erie." At the time the regiment was scattered in detachments from Erie to Detroit. In the fall the regiment was ordered south to join General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans, and it probably participated in the famous battle.

Journal of Benjamin Van Cleve, 1794.

"May 16, 1794. Engaged in the contractor's employ. Started on the 24th, with two contractor's boats loaded with provisions, in company with a detachment of soldiers, consisting of Captain Guion's company of infantry and a sergeant and six men of the artillery under Major Thomas Doyle, to descend the Ohio to within 12 leagues of the Mississippi, to the site of the old Cherokee fort, built by the French, and sometimes called Fort Massac. We also had with us eight Chickasaw Indians on their way home. On the 29th, landed at Fort Steuben, opposite Louisville. Passed the falls on the next day, and remained until the 4th of June, preparing the boats to resist attacks, by lining them in order to make them bullet proof. On that day, Major Doyle arrested Captain Guion and sent him back. Mrs. Doyle was left at Louisville, and the expedition proceeded. The boats were ordered to keep in exact order—the major's boat, No. 1; his kitchen boat, No. 2; the surgeon's boat, No. 3; the artillery boat, No. 4; boat with hogs and forage, No. 5; Wilson's boat, No. 6; our own, No. 7; the Indians, No. 8; cattle boat, No. 9; Lieutenant Gregg, in the rear, No. 10. Our own boat was heavily loaded and weak in hands, so that when all were rowing we could not keep up, and when all were drifting we outwent the others. We ought, perhaps, to have made a proper representation of these circumstances to the major at the time, but he had sustained the character of being haughty, arbitrary and imperious, so that he was called King Doyle when he commanded the post at Hamilton. We, therefore, thought that it would be no use,

Uniform of the United States Army, 1802-1810, Infantry and Artillery. Reproduced from the records of the War Department by permission of the Quartermaster General of the United States.

and we kept the current at night, which sometimes took us ten miles ahead against morning. It would then take the other boats, with hard rowing, half the day to overtake us. The men by that time would be pretty much fatigued, and we could manage pretty well to keep our place until night. We generally received a hearty volley of execrations for our disobedience of his orders; we returned mild excuses, and determined to repeat the offense.

"June 8. Passed the Yellow Banks. Three families had settled here. This is the first settlement below Salt river, and there are only two others below, the one at the Red Banks and the other at Diamond Island Station. June 9, passed the Red Banks and Diamond island.

"June 10. Began to stop occasionally and cut pickets and put them aboard to be ready to set up on our arrival at Massac.

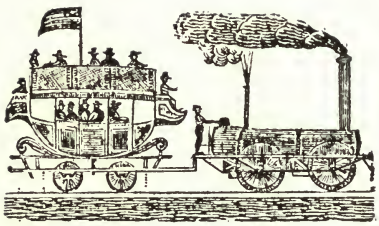
"June 11. Cut more pickets. Met a Mr. Sela and family and three young men going up from the mouth of Cumberland to the Red Banks. They concluded to turn back with us. Passed the Wabash at dark. At Saline observed a fire on shore, when two Canadian French hunters came to us with their canoes loaded with skins, bear's oil and dogs. One of them had passed 26 years in the wilderness between Vincennes and the Illinois river. Before morning we found three others, who went along with us to hunt for us.

"June 12. Passed Cumberland and Tennessee rivers and landed at Massac in the evening. The soldiers put up pickets in a circular form at the upper corner of the old works and brought up the artillery and the ammunition, and we were in a good posture of defense before daylight next morning.

"We were detained at Massac unloading until the 3d of July.

"On the 26th of June, a number of men enlisted in Tennessee under officers commissioned by citizen Genet, the French Ambassador to the United States, as they said, having nothing else to do, they had volunteered to escort some salt boats from the mouth of the Tennessee to Nashville, and through curiosity, had come down to see us. Their real object, perhaps, was to examine our force and posture of defense. My comrades were acquainted with one of the men. They solicited us to go up with them, and, although it was a circuitous route, we concluded to take it, believing it to be the safest, and not knowing when another opportunity might offer for us to get home. Connor had a public rifle and went up to give it to the major. He cursed Connor, struck him, and ordered him under guard, and at the same time, ordered a corporal and file of men to bring us out of the boat to the guard house. The orders were given in our hearing. The corporal came with his guard into the boat, and having been acquainted with me some time, delivered his orders to me. The Major was walking backward and forward on top of the bank. With my gun in one hand, tomahawk in the other, and a knife 18 inches long hanging at my side, dressed in a hunting frock, breech cloth and leggins, my countenance probably manifesting my excitement, I leaped out of the boat and with a very quick step went up the bank to the Major. I looked like a savage, and the major mistaking my

intention was alarmed and retired as I advanced. At length, as I approached him, he turned, and assuming a gentle voice and manner, bid me good morning. I stopped and paid him the same compliment and asked him if he wanted me. He observed that he understood that we were going to leave him. He said that his boat was going to start in eight days to the Falls to bring down Mrs. Doyle, which would afford us a better opportunity of getting home, that his party was weak and had service to perform in building the fort, and that we ought to stay until our boat was unloaded. I told him that our instructions from the contractor were to return by the first opportunity, if it should even offer as soon as we had made our boat fast; that we considered that we were obeying his instructions, and that we had known of no other opportunity likely to offer. As his boat would offer a safer and more direct passage I was willing to stay. By this time, Gahagan, one of my comrades, was ascending the bank under the guard, the major told the corporal to let him go and to discharge Connor, who was in the guard house. We accordingly staid until the Major's boat started for the Falls on the 3d of July, and came that day above the mouth of the Tennessee with some of the soldiers, whose company he found disagreeable and accordingly left the boat at Red Banks and finished the journey to Cincinnati by land, where some of the spies had come in for ammunition."



Cut of engine and car which was taken, together with minute specifications as to mode of construction, etc., of early railroads, from an advertisement for contractors to build the Northern Cross Railroad, 1836.

A. W. F.

MEN AND MANNERS OF THE EARLY DAYS IN ILLINOIS.

Dr. A. W. French, Springfield, for the State Historical Society, 1903.

I have sought to bring back to the memory of the aged, and to secure for the instruction and amusement of those who have come later upon the stage of life some of the incidents of the early happenings in the social, religious and political experience of the men and women who preceded us in the occupancy of this prairie land. Some of the events related have received notice before and descriptions are to be found in the now musty records of the early years of the nineteenth century—records known to few, and familiar to only a minute part of even reading people. Other matters, perhaps of little importance have come under the observation of the writer and may not be deemed wholly unworthy of preservation. It has not escaped the notice of the reader of history, indeed it is ineradically stamped upon his mind before he has finished the first chapter, that human life is but the conscious experience of a swift succession of little occurrences which make up the sum of what we do, and what we are. A recital of some of the struggles and some of the disasters which are part of the history of the settlement of a new country can but enhance the appreciation of our inheritance derived from the early settlers of Illinois. Some of them with an almost prophetic eye caught a glimpse of the grandeur which to us is a daily spectacle. It was their part to plant, it is ours to reap. It will ever be our duty and our pleasure to honor them, and not less to profit by their errors.

Railroads had been experimented with as early as 1822 and even to a very limited extent before that year, but very crude notions in regard to their construction prevailed at the time when, in 1833, and some subsequent years the Legislature of Illinois, strongly backed by the whole people, determined to construct a sufficiency of them to cross almost every township and to get the full benefit of the contrivance and to have that benefit equally distributed over the State without partiality or favor. Canals were also in much favor, and either one or the other seemed so nearly within the grasp, and there was so little to choose between them that when a member arose to offer a bill for instance for the incorporation of the "Springfield and Beardstown Canal Company," a slip naming a railroad company instead would probably not have been deemed worthy of correction.

As local jealousies, or perhaps it would be fairer to say local ambitions, necessarily existed, and to a great extent dominated the people, all bills organizing railroads or canal companies required that construction should begin at each end and sometimes at other points so that no county could get much ahead of any other in the enjoyment of these improvements.

A committee says, "that all of the works having been commenced in various sections in the State, the people of these sections are competent to judge of the value and utility of the system to them respectively, and that so long as they are unwilling to surrender their respective claims the irresistable conclusion is that the system is not too large."

To give some idea of the operation of this distribution of improvements, I will cite some of the details: Grading—From Galena southward, from Peru northward, from Cairo northward, from Peoria westward, from Warsaw easterly, from Shawneetown to Equality, from Shawneetown to Silver Creek, from Shawneetown to Quincy, from Shawneetown to Danville, from Shawneetown to Meridocia, from Shawneetown to Naples, from Alton to Edwardsville, from Mt. Carmel to Alton, from Viaduct to Okaw, from Alton eastward, from State line westward, from Embarrass river, from Pekin to Tremont, from Cairo to Vandalia, from Shelbyville, from Decatur to Louisiana, Mo., from Bloomington to Mackinaw, from Bloomington to Peru, and many others. Total estimated cost $11,000,000, exceeding estimates, but the committee remarks, "that this is mainly owing to the fact that the roads upon actual measurement are found to be longer, and they will consequently accommodate more inhabitants and supply the wants of a greater extent of country than was at first contemplated."

A committee of the House in 1839 made a quite exhaustive report on the feasibility of railroads, on the chance of getting business and particularly on their power to compete with other modes of transportation in respect to expedition, costs, etc.

They say, "A journey of one hundred miles on horseback for the purpose of transacting business at Alton, Chicago or St. Louis or any other place, would require three days' travel in each direction, making six days' expenses for man and horse at $1 per day is $6; two days' time and expenses of horse whilst attending to business of the journey, $1.50; six days' time of man and horse at $1.50, $9—$16.50. By railroad—Fare, 200 miles, $10; one day's time on journey each way, $2; two meals on the journey, $1—$13."

"Making $3.50 in favor of the railroad conveyance, by putting the journey on horseback, which is the cheapest mode of private conveyance, at the lowest rates and valuing the time of the person at the small sum of $1 per day." The committee concludes gravely, "If these views of the subject can be correct, there cannot exist a doubt of the entire ability of the railroads to come into the most successful competition for a large share of the travel of the country." The last inquiry the committee desires to institute into the financial abil-

ity and business capacity of railroads is in reference to the tonnage, which it has been shown will exist in the State at the time of their completion."

The minimum average rate of transportation over common roads is not less than $1.00 per hundred pounds, per hundred miles, or per ton $20.00.

The ordinary rates of toll and transportation on railways being 5 cents per mile, per ton for one hundred miles $5.00; balance in favor of railroads $15.00.

"Thus at the lowest possible rates that a common team during the season of best roads can perform the transportation, there would be a clear saving of money of $15.00 a ton besides the advantage of superior speed, certainty and safety of the railway conveyance."

"Take for instance the article of corn, which is the cheapest of all our productions compared with its tonnage it will be found that even this article will bear transportation on the railways to the rivers." "From an inspection of the map it will be seen that if the present system of railroads is carried out the roads will bring most portions of the State within 70 or 80 miles of a navigable stream."

This was the dream of the time.

"Then the transportation of one ton of corn at 34 bushels a distance of 80 miles at the rate of 5 cents per ton per mile would be per ton $4.00, or per bushel 11½ cents, the cost of a bushel of wheat for 80 miles 11 cents, of 100 pounds of tobacco 20 cents, on other products the same rate."

"The Springfield & Jacksonville Railroad with the Naples branch about 60 miles, is cited to show what reasonable expectations may be in the near future."

"Twenty passengers in each direction at 5 cents per mile or $3.60, $144.00. Ten tons of imports and exports in each direction at 5 cents per ton, $120.00. U. S. Mail, $25.00. Deduct repairs, power, etc., and other expenses, $131.00. Net daily profits, $158.00."

A committee of an earlier Senate had been instructed to make a reliable comparison between the utility and practicability of canals and railroads. Though without a dollar in the treasury they had only to choose what they would have. They report:

"The first proposition that presents itself is, as to the relative expediency of making canals or railroads. The railroads would cost less to construct, but for heavy transportation of cumbrous articles canals are preferable, but for lighter articles and especially for travel, railroads would have the preference. They arrive at the conclusion that either would facilitate and cheapen commerce and travel. The dubiety and uncertainty in regard to the kind of improvement which should be chosen continued long and is brought to mind anew by Act of Congress."

I find in the archives of Congress that on March 2, 1827, a strip of land a mile wide on each side of the Illinois & Michigan Canal survey was granted to the State to aid the construction of the canal. Nothing had been done with the grant when on March 2, 1833, six years after the donation had been made, Congress passed the follow-act: "'Enacted, that the lands granted to the State of Illinois by the act to which this is an amendment may be used and disposed of by said State for the purpose of making a railroad instead of a canal, as in said act contemplated, and that the time for commencing and completing said canal or railroad, whichever the State of Illinois may choose to make, be, and is extended five years: *Provided*, that if a railroad is made in place of a canal the State of Illinois shall be subject to the same duties and obligations, and the government of the United States be entitled to the same privilege on said railroad which they would have had through the canal if it had opened.'"

"With a railroad across the State to St. Louis the committee is prepared to state, from the best information obtainable, that the distance from St. Louis to New York can be made in 16 to 20 days. Voyage from New York to Buffalo five days; Buffalo to Chicago by steamboat seven to eight days; Chicago by rail to foot of rapids ten hours; from foot of rapids to St. Louis two days.

"Making the whole 16 days and deducting probable hindrances, it may be placed with tolerable accuracy at 20 days, which is at least ten days sooner than by any other route."

In 1835 the committee on internal improvements in a long report said: "The only question unsettled is the kind of communication and the means of accomplishment. As to the kind of communication the question lies between railroads and canals." So hope and confidence ran ahead of capacity to perform until dishonor and disgrace seemed the inevitable fate of the State. Under natural law mistakes and blunders incur the same penalties as wilful wrong doing. The punishment comes also to states and nations whenever an error is committed.

The people by 1839 had involved the State in debt that would have been a heavy burden to the oldest of the Union. Fourteen million dollars at that time was a vast sum.

But what assets were there? Owing to the scattered condition of the investments, no part was of use. A ridge of earth thrown up here and there all over the State, and a few scores of tons of iron in New Orleans awaiting freight money. Frantic efforts had been made to get money by the sale of bonds. The rate of interest fixed by law was 6 per cent. The bonds were discounted 20 or 30 per cent, or lower still.

The fund commissioner and other agents had been sent to New York and then to Europe to find money, but were coldly received. Bonds deposited in London for sale were sent back as the credit of the State was greatly shaken. Rumors of repudiation were prevalent and it was the opinion of a large part of the people that nothing could be done—of a large portion, that nothing ought to be done!

The Governor called a special session of the Legislature in 1839.

He says: "Our system of internal improvements presents a subject of deep and absorbing interest in which the destiny of our State is involved and when compared with its prosperity and resources is truly alarming—the public credit has been and continues to be extended to exhaustion with a view of increasing the enormous debt which has been incurred. The revenue law passed at the last session has been a subject of animadversion and dissatisfaction, and some of the counties I regret to say have resisted it by refusal to assess their taxable property."

R. F. Barrett was for some years fund commissioner, and as such was sent to New York and sometimes to Europe to endeavor to raise money on State bonds on any State indebtedness. His wailing is pitiful to hear. He says: "New York, December, 1840: I reached here yesterday, and have inquired around what could be done for January interest, I find prospects worse than I expected, every paper here and elsewhere is abusing and misrepresenting our policy, and I find the best friends of the State heretofore, now in doubt and despondency. I am afraid I shall fail to get the money. The credit of our State will go down, and I out of office in disgrace. I was a fool to come and I knew it at the time, but if I had resigned another fund commissioner would have failed to get the money most certainly, then I would have been charged with deserting the State in time of greatest need. I accepted the office with no hope of reward for I told my friends, that I should charge nothing for my services. But as it is, the faith and credit of the State may sink in my hands and my reputation sink with it. If we fail here we shall go to Boston the next day and use every means till Monday 3:00 o'clock, when the thing will be up with us, and the State; if we are unsuccessful—God forbid that such should be the result, but such it may be—young and prosperous Illinois will be the first State in this great Confederacy to fail to pay her public debts. She will be cursed from one end of the Union to the other, and by every civilized power on earth—My God! talk to the members, and do not suffer our State to be the first to go down in disgrace."

On New Year's day he wrote: "I shall neither eat nor sleep nor rest till the money is procured, and if I fail I will make my escape from the State as quick as possible, as she will be disgraced and I shall forever be the disgraced instrument of her disgrace. The difficulties have been a thousandfold greater than I expected and ultimate failure may be the result."

A minority report on finances 1840, reads like this:

"The undersigned would ask the House, that, burdened with a debt of nearly $14,000,000, the annual interest of which exceeds $700,000, a prostrate bank, $400,000 of your bonds already pledged at one-third of their value, part of which are now forfeited and the balance shortly will be, upward of $600,000 lost or in immediate danger in New York by the bad management of your agents; between one and two millions in Europe in like condition—your interest falling due before the Legislature meets again; unprovided for—an extra

session in consequence inevitable—your bonds selling at 60 or 70 cents on the dollar; a bankrupt treasury and an oppressed and dispirited people; the State so poor that she cannot pay the doorkeepers, much less her members: your commissioners knocking at the door of every pawnbroker and shaver, begging them to lend money on our bonds—Illinois bonds."

R. M. Young, State financial agent, writes:

"I do deplore exceedingly the present condition of things, and see nothing but mist and gloom in the prospective; and regret exceedingly that the last Legislature did not do something effectual to place the credit and integrity of the State on some substantial basis. July interest should at all events be provided for with certainty and not left to depend on remote probabilities."

The Committee on Finance in 1840 also rendered a report not free from bitterness. Among other suggestions and complaints they say, "By the clamors of those who frequently prefer personal popularity, no matter how acquired, to the ultimate good of the State, and who seek to ingratiate themselves in the special favor of the public by abusing and misrepresenting those who may have contribted to create the State debt, which in its inception met with almost universal approval, the people have been made to suffer, unnecessarily, feelings of pain and distrust. They have heard so much of millions of indebtedness, the horrors of which have been portrayed in such dismal lamentations of despair that each man is involuntarily led to feel in his pocket to ascertain if he has any hundreds or thousands in his possession with which to pay off his part of the debts."

The mode of construction of railroads in the early days will excite a smile by those who have never seen any other than that now in use. I have copied from proposals for a contract on the Northern Cross railroad published in 1848. A road had been built on this line many years before on a very imperfect grading but had been abandoned. "The crossties 5x10 inches are to be prepared for the superstructure by boring two holes in each tie at the guaged distance assunder for the intermediate ties 1½ inches in size. The string pieces 5x6 are to be prepared for the work by boring a hole within 3 inches of the end 1½ inches, and at intervals of 30 inches." The old iron rails which were about the weight of a wagon tie, were to be taken up and straightened and then spiked down on the middle of the stringer, the end joints to be strengthened by a piece of wood spiked down on the ties. To make room for the flange of the wheels the string piece was to be beveled down with an adz.

Here you have woodsills first, then ties across them and then wood stringers to be pegged down to the ties with wooden pins, and last, a little strip of iron nailed to the top. This looks like a light structure but the great New York Central railroad was first made in this manner. I passed over it in 1845 when the speed was 15 to 20 miles per hour. One of the perils of this kind of track was that the thin bar under constant rolling got loose and the end would rise to the top of

a wheel and be thrust up through the floor of the car to the great peril of the passengers. Many travellers lost their lives in this manner.

The furore in the early 30's for State improvements in the mode of transportation which was one of importance, but not the only one by any means, has often been referred to and commented upon. But in this state of excitement, and the recklessness accompanying it, Illinois was not alone, nor did she lead, but simply participated in an unreasoning craze which originated in the eastern and central states. Confidence, so useful in intercourse between men, was unbounded and nothing seemed necessary to the enhancement of values and the promotion of enterprises but a free and vivid imagination. I remember well when in 1835 and 1836 an emigration fever seized the people of the eastern states, and the rude and rough highways which led westward were dotted thickly with hundreds of emigrant wagons headed towards Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and Illinois, or anywhere towards the setting sun. All of the inhabitants could not go, however willing they might be, but all who had any money could share in the sure rewards of enterprise by sending it along to be invested in the soil which soon would enrich them by its swiftly increasing values.

Inspection was hardly thought of, and the swamps and bays of Michigan compared successfully in price with the choicest lands.

The spirit of speculation swept around the lakes and Illinois received large accessions to her population, and her lands passed swiftly from government ownership to private hands but a small part only to actual settlers. Money invested in this sure way was better than settlers, and the enthusiastic had only to wait.

Lands bought then at $1.25 per acre, within my knowledge, 30 years after, had scarcely doubled in value. But the immense bubble reached its full expansion in 1837 and many who had sent to the west all of their available means, from eager buyer became urgent sellers, and financial distress took the place of the late exuberant prosperity and bankruptcy prevailed in the whole country.

In many cities of the eastern states bankruptcy was universally present. In some lines of trade not a single merchant or manufacturer stood up, and when the storm had swept by nearly every business man was prostrated. All are not idiots! but we are so helpful to one another when any great folly is to be perpetrated that each gives up the better part of his judgment under the influence of others, and the opinion of the combination is the reverse of the units composing it.

Illinois was traveling along as well as so isolated a people could expect to do. Settlers were coming in pretty fast, considering the great distance, from the ever teeming east and from the bordering slave states, and there was no unusual lack of individual prosperity when she felt the spirit of unrest.

In 1834 a committee of the House reported the State practically free from debt, but schemes had already been devised which would greatly alter this state of affairs. As in all new settlements, means

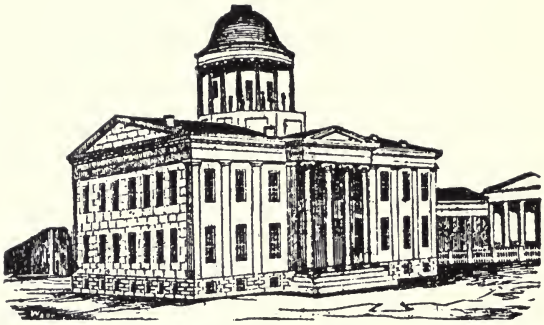
of communication were required. One of the first necessities is a road. Let us have enough roads or canals so that we can go everywhere and carry our products with us. The population was widely scattered, 200,000 on 45,000 square miles of territory. The Legislature, assembled from every part of this varying and vast field, were men who were born in many different states and in foreign lands, and who held very divergent views in regard to most human interests, but on one there was nearly perfect agreement, all thinking that facilities for inter communication must be bettered. Without any available resources on the part of the State or its inhabitants, without seemingly to ask one another the question how are these benefits to be paid for, together with a stubborn resolve not to submit to anything like adequate taxation, the construction of more miles of railroads than then existed in the whole world was decided to be feasible, and these, too, to be supplemented by a few hundred miles of canal.

The Illinois and Michigan canal had already been begun, but this had some, though very inadequate resources in the large grant of land by the general government. Many other canals were perfected, and bills for their immediate construction had become laws. Of course this could not go on forever. One House passed a bill repudiating the entire debts, but it failed in the other by a not large majority. The State faced bankruptcy and dishonor. More than enough money could be seen, (in imagination) to carry out these vast schemes. In 1839, in regard to the gift of money to counties not classed by any surveys, the committee on internal improvements said:

"First that the $200,000 appropriated by the 18th section of the internal improvement act to be distributed to the several counties through which no canal or railroad was authorized by the act to be constructed, is vested in the original counties and cannot be justly withdrawn from them in whole or in part for the purpose of being granted to other counties" It seems that new counties put in a claim to share in the bounties granted, and were told they must look to the counties from which they were severed, and that as it was through their own wrong, that they cannot now claim to redivide the original grant; precautions taken that the gift should fall into the right hands of the mere bagatelle of $200,000, which should equalize the benefits of State improvements This large bounty which was already an object of discord between the counties that remained intact and those created by subdivision was as likely to be paid as the other obligations.

It is a pleasure to note that literature was encouraged. In 1833 the Legislature passed a resolution with reference to a forthcoming Illinois book, now much sought after.

"WHEREAS, J. M. Peck has set forth by his petition that he is engaged in making a gazetteer of Illinois, and also collecting material towards a history of the State and that it would aid him greatly in these labors to have free accession to the printed laws, journals, etc."



Picture of the old State House at Springfield, as for some years it was carried at the head of the Illinois Journal.

A. W. F.

"*Resolved*, that the Secretary of State be authorized to furnish said J. M. Peck, one copy of each of the laws and journals, Territorial and State."

The people who are now called early settlers were possessed of great theoretical piety. This was perhaps manifested more markedly in their legislation than in their private lives, and daily conduct. The laws in respect to the observance of the Sabbath were rigid and penalties for violation were severe and would not have done discredit to Connecticut under the pilgrims.

Their abhorrence of gaming was intense, and the laws pertaining to it were fully abreast of the lives of the people in respect to the practice. I will give a sample from the third session: "If any person shall hereafter bring into the State, or cause to be brought or imported into this State for sale, or shall sell or offer for sale any pack or packs of playing cards, or any dice, billiard tables, billiard balls or any other device or thing intended, or made for the purpose of being used at any game; shall, on conviction be fined in the sum of not exceeding $25."

I was cognizant of one conviction for selling a pack of cards under this law.

Another law should be preserved for its unique English, and for other reasons.

"To prevent unlawful driving of stock," enacted: "That no individual or individuals who may be driving stock through the country or to market, (should any stock or fat hogs falling into their drove be left at the place where they may stop for the first night, after said stock have fallen into their drove) shall be subject to the penalties of this bill, and that no persons who may be driving other stock, (should any stock falling into their drove) be left at the first premises on the road having (suitable lot or inclosure for separating them from the drove) shall be subject to the penalties of this bill."

THE SENATORS' BALL.

Few are now living who have a personal recollection of a custom about as old as the State, which ought not to pass altogether from human memory. It may be said to have had a flavor of its own, and belonged only to the time and the then condition of society. Though, as intimated, there had been a succession of these events, I have chosen for this brief description, one at which I was an invited guest, and was privileged to be present. I refer to the operation of an unwritten law which required a newly elected Senator to give a public ball in the State House immediately after his election to that high office. It was not to be a "nobby," or exclusive, party where satins and diamonds were to magnify the light and compete with the tallow candles which crowded one another in the huge chandelier and wide branching candelabra, which decorated the dancing hall and sent their drippings down impartially upon the gay costumes of the ladies and the plain jeans of the law-makers and the laborers, but cards of

invitation had been distributed, in the absence of a directory, by the poll list, as all men found in the city were supposed to rejoice over the election of a Senator, so all should participate in this manifestation of joy, and join hands in the dance and partake of the feast.

Judge Douglas had been elected a Senator.

With characteristic generosity and self-abnegation and following old precedents he placed in the hands of his local friends the sum of $1,500 with which they were to get up the affair on the most approved lines. When the evening arrived the State House at an early hour was crowded so that not a midget could get in. When the music was ready to begin the first difficulty encountered was to get space sufficient to form a cotillion. As there was no elephant present to press back the crowd, some of the leading politicians and statesmen who for one reason or another were in attendance on the occasion, assisted, and after some delay a space somewhat larger than a family dining table was cleared in the center of representative hall, and a dance was begun by the few who gained access to the ring. If "joy was unconfined," this could not be said of the dancers.

The Senate chamber had been reserved as the refreshment room, and long tables were well supplied with the elements of a supper. This chamber was opened about half past ten o'clock and the company invited in. As a considerable part, not to say a large majority, of the assemblage had been in attendance since dark in one of the short days of winter, and music and dancing could not well begin in good earnest before it was bedtime for many of the guests, these good people, pressed on by impatient appetite, lost much of that degree of self-restraint which is always necessary under such circumstances, and the orderly march to the table, which was attempted, was broken up, and the strongest and hungriest getting first within reach, the viands were very unequally distributed among the guests of the ball. This was soon followed by the departure of many of the guests, chiefly of those who had inadvertently left at home their dress suits. This celebration of a Senatorial election by some was called a *fiasco*, by others as only the exemplification in practice of the beauty of the theory that the enjoyments of life should be shared by all alike, and especially by those best able to obtain them.

The next Senator to be elected was Judge Trumbull. In regard to celebrating the event by a ball, he felt the necessity of yielding something to precedent, but being of a somewhat fastidious nature he could not contemplate with any degree of composure the celebration of two years before as being repeated in his name and at his expense.

Like the thoughtful man he was, he proposed to steer clear of the *Scylla* of popular disapprobation on one hand and the *Charybdis* of popular misconstruction on the other by avoiding the State House and hiring a hall, to which his friends were invited, and where a social talk was had.

This ended the custom, and Senators-elect have since that time escaped this popular initiation into office.

SECTIONAL FORCES IN THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D.

The strongly sectional character of Illinois politics during the first half century of its existence as a State is familiar to even the casual student. There have also been detailed studies of particular phases of the sectional struggle. Thus we have the very useful volume by E. B. Washburne on Governor Coles and the slavery controversy of 1822–1824. For the decade between 1850 and 1860 there is, of course, the great mass of Lincoln literature. On the other hand, the conflict of sectional forces during the whole period from 1818 to 1861 has never had any thorough and comprehensive treatment. It is the purpose of this paper merely to survey the field and to suggest opportunities for special research by students of local history. On the foundation of such intelligent local studies it may be possible to build up finally an adequate account of Illinois sectionalism. Such a study will in turn be indispensable to every one who wishes to understand the political history of the nation.

One important factor in Illinois sectionalism is the geographical situation of the State. The parallels of latitude which include Illinois included on the one hand the abolitionist centers of New England and on the other the capital of the Southern Confederacy. The importance of this great north and south extension, which would have been evident in any case, was greatly increased by the success of Mr. Pope's amendment to the enabling act, which modified the ordinance lines of 1787 and gave us our present frontage on Lake Michigan.

In 1818, however, Illinois was far more open to northern than to southern influences. The easiest lines of approach for many years were the river routes of the Mississippi and the Ohio which were most accessible to the people of the down states from Pennsylvania southward. The portions of the State which were first settled lay close to these great waterways in contact with the slaveholding commonwealths of Kentucky and Missouri.

These geographical facts determined in large measure the constituent elements of the population. The French inhabitants, picturesque but politically of minor importance, may be passed over briefly, noting only that the perpetuation or slavery among them tended to produce a southern bias. Of the American born immigrants, we have no definite statistical knowledge, but contemporary testimony indicates a preponderantly southern origin. This some-

what indefinite conclusion is corroborated by more tangible facts with regard to the political leaders of the new State. The territorial delegate who carried through the enabling act was a Kentuckian by birth and education. The first Governor, the first two Representatives and the first two Senators were all natives of southern or border slaveholding states.*

Southern birth did not, however, always mean sympathy with the "peculiar institution." The ordinance of 1787, though so construed as to permit the retention of slaves previously held in the territory and though doubtless evaded by loose indenture laws was undoubtedly effective to check the movement into Illinois of a really slaveholding class. If it had not been so, there would not have been such frequent and strenuous efforts to secure its repeal. There were among the social and political leaders of the State a few representatives of this class, but numerically, they were in a small minority. Even within this group, men of anti-slavery convictions were occasionally to be found, as, for example, Governor Coles who brought his slaves to Illinois only to set them free.

The southerners who came to Illinois belonged, therefore, mainly to two classes, the "poor whites" and the more substantial, but often forgotten, small farmer class. Between the small farmer and the large planter, there has been in the history of the southern states an antagonism of long standing, varying somewhat in intensity, but almost never wholly absent.† Some of these poorer whites were, doubtless, willing to become large slave owners themselves in a new country, but we are told of at least some others that they came to Illinois in order to escape slavery with its inevitably depressing influence upon the poorer whites.††

The net result as to slavery may be summed up in two facts. The first is the census return of 1820, which shows 917 slaves, about one in 60 of the total population. The other is the first State Constitution which refused to prohibit slavery altogether, but barred the way for its future development.‡

The first six years of statehood are marked by the unsuccessful efforts to secure a constitution more favorable to slave property. The story of this conflict has often been told and need not be repeated here. A few facts should, however, be emphasized. The first is a clear division of the popular vote along geographical lines. The older southern countries were, as a rule, strongly for the convention to amend the constitution. The heavy majorities against it came from the newly organized counties more remote from Kentucky and Missouri influences. It is equally clear, on the other hand, that there was no sharp line of division between men of northern and

*These facts as to place of birth were drawn from various sources but mainly from Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical, and Bateman and Selby Encyclopedia of Illinois.

† See e. g. W. A. Schaper, Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina, in Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1900, Vol. I.

†† Ford, History of Illinois, 38; Patterson, Early Society in Southern Illinois, 104-105, 113-114; Brown, Early History of Illinois, 82.

‡ Const. of 1818, Art. VI. This constitution was attacked by the anti-slavery men in the National House of Representatives and defeated by William Henry Harrison, then a congressman from Ohio. Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2d session, I, 297-298, 305-311.

those of southern origin. In a test vote on the convention resolution, at least half the anti-convention votes came from men of southern birth. Two of the most aggressive anti-slavery leaders, Coles and Cook, were born in slave-holding states. Clearly then, the great decision which finally closed the door to slave importation was largely due to the leadership and the votes of southern men.*

Section II.

By 1824, Illinois had definitely rejected the "peculiar institution," but the dominance of southern men and the strength of southern sympathies were still conspicuous factions in the life of the State. Every one of the first six Governors of the State came to Illinois from the south, and all but one were natives of slaveholding states. During the same period, the State elected eight men as Senators and eight as Representatives in the Federal Congress. Of the eight Senators, one was born in Illinois, one in New York, and the rest in the states of Maryland, North Carolina and Kentucky. Of the eight Representatives, all, with possibly one exception, came to Illinois from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. It has been observed too, that the prominent advocates of the convention, though defeated upon that particular issue, did not generally love their political leadership.

One result of this southern predominance is to be seen in the polical status of the negro in Illinois He was not to be held permanently as a slave, but he was not, on the other hand, regarded as a citizen. The right to vote was restricted to whites, and the negro's testimony could not be admitted in the courts against a white man. In short, the status of the free negro in Illinois was not very different from that of his southern brother.*

A similar conservatism was shown in the attitude of Illinois people on all questions of national policy affecting slavery. Though they did not want slavery at home, they generally disliked the "Yankee abolitionist." In 1837, both Houses of the General Assembly passed resolutions condemning anti-slavery legislation, and but one member of the House joined Lincoln in his famous protest against them.† The same year saw the assassination of Lovejoy at Alton. Such conservative leaders as Governor Duncan condemned the murder, but they generally considered Lovejoy himself as distinctly censurable ‡

A similar attitude on sectional issues was taken by Illinois men in Congress. In May, 1836, the National House of Representatives forced the first of the so called "gag resolutions" intended to prevent the consideration of anti-slavery petitions. This Pinckney resolution of 1836 provided that "all petitions, memorials, resolutions,

* See on this subject E. B. Washburne, "Governor Coles and the Slavery Struggle in Illinois."

*Constitution of 1818, Art. II, §27; The Public and General Statutes of Illinois (1829) 201, 501, 505, 536.

†Lincoln. Works (Nicolay and Hay, eds.) I, 15.

‡Kirby. Life of Joseph Duncan, 43, (Letter to Rev. Gideon Blackburn.)

propositions or papers relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, be laid upon the table and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." This resolution was supported by Messrs. Casey, May and Reynolds, the three members from Illinois.*

In December, 1844, John Quincy Adams finally secured the repeal of a still more stringent rule, which had been in force during the previous session. Public opinion in the north, generally, had by this time been thoroughly aroused against this supposed violation of the right of petition. The Illinois representatives, however, stood with the south against repeal. Of the Illinois members only two supported Adams. These were John Wentworth and John J. Hardin, representing the Chicago and Jacksonville districts. Douglas, then a member of the House, is not recorded as voting, but in a later speech he recorded his opposition to the consideration of anti-slavery petitions. The remaining four members voted against Adams and for the "gag resolutions.†

The position of the Illinois members on the question of territorial expansion to the southwest is interesting in the same connection. The annexation of Texas and the Mexican war were regarded by a large element in New England as simply parts of a conspiracy to shift the balance of power in favor of the south. New territory was to be secured in order that new slave states might be represented in Congress. As Lowell put it, the southerners were seeking "nigger pens to crown with slaves."

This policy was comparatively weak in Illinois. The State as a whole strongly favored Texan annexation, and gave enthusiastic support to the Mexican war. On the joint resolution of 1845 for the annexation of Texas, both of the Illinois Senators and six out of seven Representatives voted "aye." The single negative vote was cast by Hardin of Jacksonville.‡ On May 11 and 12, 1846, the Illinois men in the Senate and House supported unanimously on test votes the war policy of the administration, including the famous preamble declaring that war existed "by the act of Mexico" §

Other illustrations might be given to show that while slavery received a crushing defeat in 1824, the politics of the State were largely dominated by southern men, and southern feeling showed itself in the inferior legal status of the negro and in a general dislike of "Yankee" abolitionism, whether in Illinois or at the National Capital.

Section III.—The Growth of Northern Influences, 1847-61.

The new Constitution of 1847-8 marks in a convenient way the beginning of a new era in the history of the State. One important fact

*Cong. Globe, 24th Cong., 1st session 505-506.

†Cong. Globe, 2nd session, 28th Cong.

‡ Cong. Globe, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., 194, 362.

§ Ibid, 29th Cong., 2d Sess., 794, 804.

of this new period is the gradual passing of frontier conditions. At the same time it was becoming clear that the controlling forces of the mature commonwealth were to differ largely from those which had dominated its youth. In the conflict of sectional forces, those of the north were steadily gaining and gradually making of Illinois a distinctly northern State.

One important factor in this development was improved means of communication between Illinois and the states of the northeast. The building of the Erie canal, the improvement of steam navigation on the lakes, and finally, the rapid railroad building of the fifties—all these things opened the way for a large "Yankee" immigration into northern Illinois. The commercial development of Chicago, resting upon the larger growth of the whole northwest, was bringing into the life of the State an aggressively northern spirit of business enterprise, quite in contrast with the civilization of the rural south.

The census returns of 1850 and 1860 show clearly the growing importance of the northern immigration, particularly in the statistics of nativity. The New Yorkers stand first with about one-sixth of the total American born immigration.* The next states in order are Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Indiana, Virginia, North Carolina and Vermont.

The next census shows a still more marked northern prepondrance. According to the nativity statistics of 1860 the three slave-holding states which had contributed most largely to the population of Illinois were Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. In 1850, the aggregate number of natives of this group was slightly larger than the total for New York and New England. By 1860 the ratio had changed radically. While the gain in immigration from the three slave states was less than 25 per cent, those from New York and New England had increased about 75 per cent or three times as fast.

In reckoning the forces working against the old southern tradition, we must not forget the foreign immigrant. The foreign born population originally small, had increased by 1850 to about one-eighth and by 1860 to about one-fifth of the total population of the state. Of these the Germans were the most numerous and probably the most important politically. This foreign population had gathered about a few centers in the central and southern parts of the State, as around Quincy and in the counties opposite St. Louis, but was mainly to be found in the northern counties.† Since the greater volume of foreign immigration had been one of the most striking characteristics of the northern states as compared with the southern states of the Union, the influence in Illinois of her large foreign population was to differentiate her still more from the south.

Like the foreign born immigrants, the new settlers from the northeast generally settled in northern Illinois. In 1818 the three northern counties were Madison, Bond and Crawford. By 1840, 57 new

* It should be remembered that many of the New York immigrants were of New England stock.

† Compendium of Seventh census (1850), 116-118, 218-225; eighth census (1860), I, (Population), 102-103, 616-623.

counties had been organized farther north which had come to include a large majority of the total population of the State. By the same year the Territory added by Mr. Pope's forethought in 1818 had been organized into 14 new counties, only one of which appears on the map of 1830. In 1850, these counties had about 21 per cent of the population of the State, and by 1860 they had nearly one-fourth of the total.*

By this movement of immigration largely along parallels of latitude, the northern and southern sections of the State were sharply differentiated in spite of some fusion of northern and southern elements in the central counties. Until the building of the Illinois Central in the fifties, this differentiation between northern and southern Illinois was intensified by the comparative difficulty of communication between the sections. We are told, for example, that when the Chicago division of the Illinois Central was first built, it passed for over a hundred and thirty miles through "an almost unbroken wild."*

Let us now examine the working of these social forces in the politics of the State. One interesting result is to be seen in the personnel of the political leaders. In place of the preponderate southern leadership of the first two decades, we now find the northern men making their way to the front. Between 1840 and 1862, 46 different men were elected as Senators, Congressmen and Governors. Omitting ten men whose nativity could not readily be found, we find that nine of the remaining 36, or just one-fourth, come from slaveholding states (Kentucky, 7; Tennessee, 2.) An exactly equal number came from New England. Eight were born in Ohio or Illinois, and seven in the middle states. One each came from Canada, England, and Ireland. In some instances, men of New England origin represented southern districts, but the extreme northern constituencies were generally represented by New England men. Familiar examples of this class are "Long John" Wentworth, Elihu B. Washburne, Jesse Norton and Owen Lovejoy.†

As northern men came to hold positions of leadership, northern ideas gradually made themselves felt in the politics of the State. Striking evidence of this is to be found in the convention of 1847.

The most important victory of the "Yankee" element was on the question of township organization. The settlers from New York and New England had been accustomed to some kind of township organization and favored its adoption in Illinois. The older communities of the State had, however, worked under the southern system of local government which took the county as its unit and vested its government in the county court. When the decisive vote was taken in the convention, township organization received the almost unanimous support of delegates from the northern third of the State, while the southern third gave a decisive majority against it. A few representatives from the extreme southern counties voted for the township clause of the

* See statistical table in Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical,—Appendix.

*Ackerman. Early Illinois Railroads (Fergus Historical series No. 23.) 42.

†Lists in "The Illinois Blue Book," 1900; with biographical data, mainly from Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical, and Bateman and Selby Encyclopedia of Illinois.

Constitution, but their constituencies had never adopted the system. On the other hand, every one of "Mr. Pope's" 14 northern counties had been organized on the new plan, and in the next decade a large number of the central counties followed their example.*

More striking in its relation to national politics was the sectionalism shown in the discussion of the race question. The final abolition of slavery in the State was accepted as a matter of course without division. The status of free negroes was, however, an exciting topic and led to divisions along roughly sectional lines. The convention finally agreed upon an article requiring the Legislature to prohibit the immigration of free negroes or the bringing in of slaves for the purpose of setting them free. The 14 northern counties gave a decisive majority against this article in the convention, but the old counties voted almost solidly for it and the votes of the central region turned the scales in its favor. This article was submitted to the popular vote separately and ratified in spite of majorities against it in the northern counties.†

Another evidence of conservatism on the race issue is to be seen in the Constitutional provision which reserves the full legal and political privileges and responsibilities of citizenship to men of the white race. Many of the southern delegates desired even more explicit assertions of the inferiority of the colored race. Thus the northern victory on the township question had a set off in the conservative treatment of the race problem.‡

Let us now turn again to the position of Illinois on questions of national politics. The period from 1847 to 1861 was one of intense sectional feeling centering about the question of slavery in the territories. In Illinois, the growth of anti-slavery feeling had been comparatively slow. Though numerous anti-slavery societies had been organized, particularly in the northern counties, the radical liberty party had only an insignificant following in the State. In 1848, the union of Genuine Free Soilers with Van Buren Democrats had given the Free Soil ticket a somewhat deceptive appearance of strength in the presidential contest. In 1852, however, with a clearer issue between conservative and radical Free Soil views the weakness of the latter seemed very clear. In accordance with its steadily Democratic traditions the State gave Pierce a heavy majority. In more than one-third of the counties of the State extending from Cairo to Champaign no Free Soil vote whatever was returned, and in several more it was infinitesimal. On the other hand, there were seventeen counties, all with one exception north of Springfield, in which the Free Soilers mustered 10 per cent, or more of the total vote of the county.§

* Journal of the convention, passim; M. H. Newell, Township Government in Illinois. (Manuscript thesis in Library of University of Illinois.)

† Journal of the convention, 453-456; Const. of 1848, Art. XIV.

‡Const. of 1848, Arts. VI, VIII, IX. (Elections, Militia, Revenue).

§Statistical tables in Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical. T. C. Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest; passim.

Free soil feeling was not, however, confined to the third party. It was to be found in both the old parties and particularly among the Whigs. There was, indeed, a strong Democratic organization, led by Douglas, and, in spite of his New England origin, strongly in sympathy with the old conservative traditions. Yet there were already indications of a revolt.

The condition of Illinois feeling is well illustrated by the controversies over slavery in the territories and over the fugitive slave law, which received their supposed final settlement in the compromise measure of 1850. In March, 1847, the votes of the Illinois members in the House of Representatives were evenly divided on the Wilmot proviso, but four members failed to vote.* In 1849 the State Legislature declared in favor of the Wilmot proviso.† Douglas himself, though opposing the proviso in other ways, felt obliged to obey the letter of his instructions by an affirmative vote.‡ On the other hand, when the vote on the fugitive slave bill was taken in the House of Representatives, five of the seven Illinois Congressmen supported it, including Bissell, who was so soon to become the anti-slavery candidate for Governor. The two negative votes were cast by Wentworth of Chicago and Baker of the Galena district.§ Douglas' support of the fugitive slave law made him for a time extremely unpopular in Chicago, but the Legislature of 1851 accepted his leadership and repudiated the Wilmot proviso resolutions of 1849. Finally, the weakness of the Free Soil vote in 1852 seemed to indicate general acquiescence in the conservative policy of compromise on the slavery question.‖

The next four years, however, brought radical changes in Illinois politics. In 1855 Douglas had to accept an anti-slavery colleague in the Senate, and in 1856 he saw his party defeated for the first time in a gubernatorial contest, by a new organization bearing the name of Republican, but maintaining essentially Free Soil principles. Four years later this same party carried the State against him in a Presidential contest, and gave to an Illinois man the responsibility of directing the northern forces in the great struggle with the south.

In the familiar story of this period of our political history, a few aspects only will be noted for special emphasis. The rapid rise of the Republican party was, of course, due in the first instance to the influence upon modern anti-slavery men, of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. They had refused to follow the abolitionist agitators or even the more moderate free soiler, but the increasing aggressiveness of the pro-slavery party gradually brought moderates and radicals together in the new party. Counties in which the free soil vote had been insignificant were carried for Fremont in 1856.¶

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* Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 2d Sess., 573.

† Laws of Illinois, 1st Sess., 16th Gen. Ass., 234.

‡ Sheahan, Douglas, 136-137, 163-168.

§ Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 1807.

‖ Sheahan, Douglas, 158-163, 225-226; Laws of Illinois, 17th Gen. Ass., 205-206.

¶ Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical, Appendix.

Among the moderate voters brought over to the republican party in this way was a considerable body of German democrats, of whom Köerner* may be taken as a good representative. One of the German democratic strongholds was the Belleville district. In 1854 this district elected Lyman Trumbull, an anti-Nebraska democrat, as its congressman. Ten years later St. Clair county, which had not given a single free soil vote, in 1852 was carried for Fremont. Still more striking changes appeared four years later, when Lincoln succeeded Fremont and the native American vote had been largely eliminated.

A second factor in Republican success was the steady stream of immigration from the northeast during the 50's which has already been noted and which constituted a heavy handicap for the Douglas Democracy in its struggle to retain political control.

In the meantime the extreme southern counties remained almost wholly unmoved. Eleven of them gave Fremont in 1856 a total of only 146 votes and even in 1860 their vote for Lincoln was insignificant. With the single exception of St. Clair, no county organized before 1824 gave its vote to Fremont. The old State was holding pretty steadily to its conservative traditions, but was being overpowered by the immense volume of northern immigration. Partly through the influence of Douglas and Logan, this section held to the Union in the crisis of 1861, but the force of old traditions was shown in an opposition to Republican policies during the war which has been somewhat too sweepingly condemned as simple disloyalty.

One fact of curious interest may be noted in conclusion. Though the northern farm population had come to predominate in the affairs of the State, the new sectional party of the north found its most conspicuous leaders in men of southern birth. To this class belong Palmer, Yates, Oglesby, and Lincoln himself.

Evarts B. Greene.

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* Ibid, cf. Köerner, Das Deutsche Element, Chap. XII.

DECISIVE EVENTS IN THE BUILDING OF ILLINOIS.

Hon. Wm. H. Collins of Quincy, Ill.

Professor Creasey of the London University wrote a book entitled, "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." He attempted to show that each of the battles named was a pivoted event in history. He very plausibly argued, that a contrary issue of battle in each case, would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes.

Prompted by the suggestion of this book, I have selected for my theme, certain events which I regard as decisive in shaping the history of Illinois. I do not attempt any special originality of treatment, or to contribute any new historical material. My purpose is simply to group these events about a central line of thought and trace their logical relations.

There is a chain of causes and effects which has contributed to the making of us what we are, and the time, place and manner of the welding of the links, open an inviting field of historic study.

An anlysis of the events of history discloses an endless manifestation of creative and directive power. There are endless manifestations of energy, often apparently unrelated, yet in their action and interaction there is discernible the operation of selection and plan. Every line in Hamlet is part of the play. The first scene has a relation to the last. A cosmic drama is on the stage of history, and there is unity in its mighty sweep of events. Man is related to plans which have been in process of development through inconceivable millions of years. He was anticipated and provided for untold eons before he appeared. There were definite provisions for him in the various transformations which at different epochs, have been built into the physical structure of the globe itself.

In the light of this thought, I name first the deposit of the coal measures as a fundamental and decisive event in the making of Illinois.

If we cut down through the portion of the earth's crust, which forms, geographically, the State of Illinois, we find that each stratum bears a definite relation to every other one from the primary rock to the alluvial soil at the top. If these strata are pictorially represented upon a chart, colored to distinguish their various relations, one of them is seen to have an intimate and commanding relation to the life of the millions of human beings who make the population of the

State. Upon the chart one or more black bands appear, of varying thickness, covered by from 50 to 300 feet of conglomerate shales, sands and clays, topped by a soil of rare fertility. These seams of coal are of incalculable value in the development of the State. Wonderful was the plan, which, untold ages ago, planted the vast forests of sigillaria, lepidodendra and gigantic ferns to draw poison from the heavy air, crystallize the sunbeams and so imprison and preserve for future use, the solar energy. It was certainly an epochal period, which put into permanent form an infinite store of solar energy which, in the far future would enter intimately into the material, intellectual and moral life of a great State. The link that connects great epochs may be long in the order of time but it is short in the order of life. This energy is part of the daily life of the people.

There are 40,000 square miles of coal deposits in the State. About 40,000 men and boys are engaged in the mining industry. Thirty millions of tons were mined in 1902. Two tons of coal will furnish power for a 40-horse power engine for ten hours. Imagine 1,000,000 horses working all day, many of them working by night as well as by day! If this power could be concentrated and brought within vision, it would present a phenomenon of energy, something like that of the Falls of the Niagara.

This coal helps to produce and distribute the products which supply the almost endless diversity of human wants among more than 5,000,000 people. It touches life at all its levels. In the beginning of the life of a State, it helps make the axe, the rifle, the hoe, the wagon, the sickle, the primary tools of civilization. It helps cut the tie, make the spade, pick, scraper, steel rail, telegraph wire, pump and the locomotive. It is the power upon which modern production and transportation depend. It drives away the rigor of winter from the home. It makes ice to cool the beverage of summer. It moves the press to print newspapers and books. It kindles the electric light and transforms night into day. It makes the cradle, builds the house, prepares the coffin, quarries the marble, and carves the headstone which bears the epitaph. So it touches the lives of all, high and low, rich and poor, all sorts and conditions of men.

The Power which directs all energy, might have made different dipositions. The carbonic acid of the atmosphere could have been combined with lime and made into limestone. We cannot conceive what the collective life of the State would have been, had there been no coal deposit. It is easy to trace the connection between the coal and a state checkered with interlacing railroads, large cities trembling with the rumble and roar of machinery, multiplying the individual energy of thousands of busy workers, and making Illinois as an agricultural and manufacturing state, a leading state of the Nation.

Defeat of the French. Treaty of 1763.

Though Illinois had no place on the map as a political sub-division in the 18th century, its future was largely determined by the result

of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the continent which culminated in the victory of General Wolfe and the provisions of the treaty of 1763.

Though Spain claimed a title to the country based upon the authority of a Papal Bull, she spent her energy in the search for gold and the passing glory of conquest over the comparatively harmless natives.

The stuggle for the possession of North America was between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon with a reinforcement of Teutonic blood. The significance of the movements and policy of nations, lies in the ideals wich inspire their action. The early French explorers and colonists had two motives in seeking to explore and take possession of the country. They desired to enrich the treasury of their king and promote his glory by exploiting the material resources of the new territory. They also held a curious theory of physical religion, and believed that by putting officially prepared water upon an Indian baby's head, his soul would be saved from endless torment in the place of departed spirits, a punishment incurred by the sin of being born. There was a visible and tangible value in a beaver pelt which they obtained in exchange for a few glass beads, a few yards of bright calico or a drink of brandy, and there were indefinite credits on the ledger of final account in the world to come, in return for Indian baptisms.

Notwithstanding the puerilities of their faith inherited from the medieval ages when rational thought was in eclipse for a thousand years, the leaders were men of indomitable courage and energy. Their minds were aglow with bright visions of imperial expansion. As their rude maps grew under the touch of new discovery, they saw that the St. Lawrence, the great lakes, the Ohio, Illinois, Wabash and Mississippi rivers, would become highways for the transportation of material and men, and thus give them the military control of the vast regions opening towards the west. They founded a few feeble colonies. They organized upon a sort of feudal system. They had seigniories with their dependents. They laid off areas of land for cultivation by arpents, as a rule, having a frontage upon river or lake, the survey extending back toward the high lands. Lands were so surveyed about Kahokia and other French settlements in Illinois. In the deeds of record of an early date in Monroe, St. Clair and other counties, "arpents" are named instead of acres.

They easily fraternized with the Indians. They intermarried with them. They were not equal to the severe drudgery of agricultural labor with its slow and uncertain returns.

They took to the woods. They became trappers, hunters and "couriers du bois." They loved wild and adventurous life. They cared but little for the glory of their distant king and his schemes of imperialism. In the depths of the forest, with his traps, or in the Indian village, with his dusky squaw wife and his half-breed children, his fiddle and the dance, what cared he for a distant king or a successful colony in America?

The French leaders were tactful and enterprising. They secured the alliance of the savage tribes in war. They were brave soldiers. They were tenacious of purpose and the martial ardor and enthusiasm which in after years, made the armies of the "little corporal" the terror of Europe But the genius of the Latin race was not for successful colonization. It did not develop self-dependent and self-governing bodies of men. It failed to develop public spirit, individual responsibility and love of country. Men will not work and make sacrifices for a seignior or king as they will for themselves.

On the other hand, the English colonist came to the country to escape from what he regarded as tyranny. His conscience in conflict with throne and church, needed a new and larger world for the development of his ideals. He desired a home where he could enjoy a high measure of civil freedom. He desired to found free institutions and a self-governing state. He traded with the savages and got the best of the bargain probably, but he did not intermarry with them. He surveyed land and established individual ownership. He took root in the soil. He did not waste much energy in baptizing Indians or teaching them the "fine points" of Calvinistic theology. He became a farmer, a fisherman, a sailor, a hunter, a trader; but he was ever a home builder. He built his home and his neighbor built a home, so there came to be many homes and a commonwealth in which all had a common interest. He learned to take pride in his colony. He had a share in its government. He learned to cherish the sentiment of patriotism. His religion gave him a profound sense of responsibility. It gave a serious and earnest tone to his life. He believed that the moral law, which was to him the highest law, was sustained by sanctions that reached into eternity. He believed that every man is responsible for his conduct in life, directly to God. Whatever may be the result of the progress of human thought upon Calvinism as a system of theology to explain life, the mystery of being and destiny, it does produce strong character.

Settling along the Atlantic border, the English colonist did not dream of the conquest of the continent. As his numbers increased and new swarms came in from the old hive in England, he pushed the Indians a little further westward. When he found that the savages had allies who furnished them guns and ammunition from Montreal and Quebec, he saw that conflict with the French was inevitable. It was only a question of time when the control of the western slope of the Alleghanies would have to be fought for and decided by the wager of battle. The inevitable conflict came, with varying fortunes upon the battlefield. Louisbourg was captured, but Braddock was defeated. At last, after battle on many fields and cruel massacres in many settlements on the frontier, Wolfe won his victory on the plains of Abraham. This was a decisive victory. It determined the fate of all the vast territory from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. The shot that killed Montcalm was heard by the French at Starved Rock, Crevecœur, Cahokia and Kaskaskia. The country of which the Illinois of the future would be a part passed from under French to English dominion, from Latin

to Anglo-Saxon ideals. A decisive event in the laying of the foundation of a great state had taken its place in history. By the treaty of 1763, France relinquished her claim, and the great western territory, including what is now Illinois, was opened to the immigration of home-building pioneers. The pioneer with axe, rifle, plow, school house and meeting house was now invited to take the place of the habitans "courier du bois," trapper and savage.

The next decisive event was the passage of the ordinance of 1787.

Twenty years after the victory of General Wolfe and the treaty of 1763, and after the War of the Revolution, by the treaty of 1783, the English commissioners recognized the right to the territory north and west of the Ohio, as vested in the United States. The prize won by the English at Quebec was transferred to a new sovereign power. This was the first recognition of the new nation as distinguished from a cluster of states, each a sovereign.

There was a question as to ownership of parts of this territory, arising out of the claims of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Virginia. It was under the direction of Governor Henry of Virginia that General Clark had undertaken his brilliant and successful campaign by which he won Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and thus obtained military control of the country. But Virginia relinquished her claims, and the question was settled. The title was vested in the United States as a nation. Provision was made that the land should be platted by rectangular surveys made on and from proper base lines and meridians. Individuals who bought land received their patents direct from the general government.

This recognition of the national government as owner of the land was of great importance. As is well known, there was in the convention which framed the Constitution radical differences of opinion respecting national as opposed to state sovereignty, as well as respecting the ethics and economics of the institution of slavery.

The action of Congress in regard to the Northwest territory was destined to have a decisive influence in the final settlement of these questions, and in which the future State of Illinois would have a prominent if not a commanding part.

To provide for the organization of this territory, Congress passed the ordinance of 1787.

In 1784 Jefferson was chairman of a committee to draft an ordinance for the Territory. He reported a bill proposing to divide it into seven states.

The bill contained a provision that after the year 1800, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of said states otherwise than in the punishment of crime where of the party shall have been duly convicted." This report was not adopted. It is worthy of note that Jefferson framed his bill assuming the power of the national government to keep slavery out of the Territory. Though he is regarded as a strong advocate of de-centralized govern-

ment he evidently did not believe in this disposition of slavery by squatter sovereignty, as was advocated at a later date, in the controversy over Kansas and Nebraska.

An appeal was afterwards made from Kaskaskia, seconded by the Ohio Land company, which resulted in the passage of the ordinance.

This ordinance made provision for the temporary government of the people but set forth certain fundamental principles, which have been characterized by some thoughtful students of statesmanship as a second Declaration of Independence.

These assert: (1) The right of freedom of worship and religious opinion; (2) The right of trial by jury, proportionate representation, protection in liberty and property; (3) That religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged; (4) That "the states formed within the Territory shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; (5) Prescribe the boundaries of the states to be formed and the conditions of their admission into the Union; (6) Provided that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, provided always that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully claimed and conveyed to the person claiming his labor or service as aforesaid."

The provisions of the ordinance expressly deny the right of secession and assume the sovereignty of the national government and the right to prohibit slavery in the Territory of the nation.

The passage of the ordinance invited and stimulated immigration from all parts of the country, but especially from that portion of the country north of Mason and Dixon's line. It appealed to those who believed in national sovereignty and in liberty as the right of all men. Many came from the slave states south of the Ohio. The rich land and forests of valuable timber had their attractions, but many of them desired to get away from the institution of slavery. The people who settled in the northwest in numbers sufficient to give it its distinguishing characteristics, had no sympathy with "State rights," so-called, or with slavery.

The fathers builded better than they knew. Men who were from the slave states and who believed in state sovereignty and in slavery, voted for the ordinance, not knowing, though possibly fearing, that they were laying the foundations of seven great states, which would, in a supreme struggle on the battlefield, be on the side of the nation as a nation, and freedom as opposed to slavery. It was thus, that the ordinance of 1787, indirectly possibly but effectively contributed to make Illinois a free, instead of a slave State Had this check upon the introduction of slavery not been accomplished by the ordinance, it is reasonably sure, that immigration from south of the

Ohio bringing slaves would have gained political control of the Territory and the states, afterwards organized. Pro-slavery leaders afterwards gained control of the general government, to such an extent that the preservation, the propagation and perpetuation of slavery was its vital and animating spirit. The men who repealed the Missouri compromise in later years would never have voted for the ordinance of 1787. It came at an opportune time.

Equally influential with the passage of this ordinance in determining the history of Illinois was the fixing of the northern boundary of the State.

The original plan proposed in the ordinance of 1787 was that the northern boundary of the State should be a line drawn east and west on the southern bend of Lake Michigan. While the bill for an enabling act was before the committee of the whole in Congress, Judge Pope, the territorial Delegate, offered an amendment advancing the northern boundary to latitude 42°30'. This amendment was accepted without division, and became a law. The magnitude of the results of this amendment can only be realized by careful study of the growth of a disposition on the part of those who held the seats of political power to either destroy the Union or nationalize the institution of slavery. Judge Pope saw the drift of things clearly. He argued that the effect of his amendment would gain to the new State a coast line on Lake Michigan, including the mouth of the Chicago river. This would bring it into commercial relations with the states east of it, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. "Thus," to use his own language, "affording additional security to the perpetuity of the Union." He argued that the location of the State between the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, all flowing to the south, would bring it into intimate communication with the southern states, and that in the event of an attempt to disrupt the Union, it was important that it should be identified with the commerce of the lakes, instead of being left entirely to southern outlets. "Thus," he said, "a rival interest would be created to check the wish for a western or southern confederacy." He foresaw the building of a great city about the mouth of the Chicago river. He saw the desirableness of a canal connecting it with the Illinois river, and thus with the Mississippi. If his amendment had been rejected, the great city by the lake would have been in Wisconsin. Indeed, effort was made by the state of Wisconsin to secure the establishment of the northern boundary at the line at first proposed. The territory added to the State, as originally bounded, included 14 counties, all north of the north line of LaSalle county, and containing 8,500 square miles, one-seventh of the area of the State.

But the main significance of this additional territory was the quality of the people who settled in it. The population of these 14 counties was loyal to the Union by overwhelming majorities. They were true to the great ideals of national unity and freedom.

Judge Pope seems to have had a gift of pre-vision; that, at least, which belongs to a keen insight into facts and a capacity to discern clearly their logical relations. The demonstration of his wisdom and

prophetic vision came years after his death, in the position the State was able to assume, by reason of the large majorities for the Union in the vote of these 14 counties determining the political complexion of the State. It was this vote in the northern part of the State, dominating the vote of the southern part of the State, that sent Lyman Trumbull to the Senate in 1854 and in 1860, and made Illinois overwhelmingly loyal and strong in the great crisis of the civil war. It made Illinois prominent in the national convention. It enabled Illinois to nominate and help elect Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, giving him a majority of 12,000 votes over his competitor. One of these counties (JoDaviess) also had the honor of sending one of its citizens to the head of the army which overcame the forces of the rebellion. General Grant was a citizen of Galena when he tendered his services to the Governor of Illinois.

Men are largely influenced by their business interests. If Illinois had been compelled to send its products exclusively down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and found its best market among those engaged in raising cotton with slave labor, it would have been tempted to compromise, weaken and possibly make common cause with them in their effort to disrupt the Union. In the absence of a controlling devotion to high ideals, material interests usually sway the political action of large masses of men. Wealth in the large cities and commercial centers studied the secession and pro-slavery agitation, in the light of their ledgers and bank accounts. With goods to sell, they would conciliate a hostile market by concealing their principles or by having none. The commerce of Illinois with the east and north by the lakes was immeasurably greater than that which sought a southern outlet. The fixing of the northern boundary was a decisive event in the history of the State. Judge Pope was wise and had a great opportunity.

Another pivotal event was the defeat of the effort to make Illinois a slave state in 1824.

The French settlers had slaves as early as 1722, and they were protected in their possession by the treaty of 1763. In the discussion of the ordinance of 1787, some held that while it prohibited the introduction of slaves, it recognized property relations in slaves and their descendants already in the territory. Others contended that the anti-slavery provision of the ordinance was unconstitutional and that Congress exceeded its power in making it.

While, as has been stated, the passage of the ordinance of 1787, stimulated immigration largely from the New England states, New York and Pennsylvania, there were many who came in from the country south of the Ohio river. Of these there were two classes. One of these sought the new territory, not only to get new and fertile land and make their homes, but to escape contact with the influences of a system which they believed to be economically inexpedient and morally wrong. The other class came because they were too poor to own negroes. They would have owned them if they could. They liked a clever "nigger" just as they liked a good coon dog, but they hated

a black *man.* Most of those who had emigrated from North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky were in sympathy with the slave holders. Experiencing the trials and coarse labor of opening up a new country, they began to think the provision of the ordinance prohibiting slavery was a grave mistake and that it should be repealed. Hence various efforts were made to secure its repeal. Petitions were sent to Congress. General Harrison himself, territorial Governor, favored the repeal. So widespread was the desire, that he called a convention to promote it. In March, 1803, John Randolph, chairman of the committee to whom had been referred the petition for repeal, reported "that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region; that the committee deemed it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision, wisely calculated to promote the happiness and progress of the northwest country and add strength and security to that extensive frontier."

At the next session, however, a report was made recommending the granting of the request and the suspension of the provision for ten years. On this no action was taken. The pro-slavery party in 1812, secured the passage of an act, providing for the introduction of slaves to be kept in servitude under certain limitations. The effect of this was to increase rapidly the number of slaves. In 1818 the anti slavery element which during this pro-slavery agitation had not been idle, succeeded in forming a free State constitution for Illinois.

This success stimulated pro-slavery zeal. The fact that Illinois had adopted a Constitution making it a free State, made all the stronger the determination of the pro-slavery politicians to make Missouri territory a slave state. This they did in 1820, and the result was that the wealthier immigrants from south of the Ohio, passed by Illinois and made their homes in Missouri. This added strength to the contention that the free Constitution of Illinois kept out rapid settlement, wealth and negro labor which was necessary to the development of the resources of the State. So keenly was this felt, so active and persistent was the pro-slavery agitation, that effort was made to call a convention to change the Constitution and make Illinois a slave State.

This brought on a desperate conflict and a fight to a finish. The controversy was deep and bitter—slavery was assailed and defended, in behalf of the State's economical interests and in behalf of religion itself. By a gross fraud upon parliamentary usage a number of votes were secured sufficient to make legal a call for a convention. It remained to defeat it at the polls. The features of this conflict ought to be familiar to all readers of Illinois history. No question had ever before so stirred the people. The wildest and fiercest passion raged. Every possible threat as well as acts of violence was used to intimidate the friends of freedom, the pro-slavery element was carried to a pitch of insane frenzy. The blind rage of this element in the fight is a study in pschycology. The passion has slowly spent itself. It disgraced our statutes with the "black laws." It threw the printing press of Lovejoy into the river and assassinated him,

trampling upon the sacred right to life and property and free speech. It repealed the Missouri compromise to make Kansas and Nebraska slave states. It made some men eager to be hounds and fasten their fangs into the flesh of the fugitive slave, caught on his way to freedom. It survived in the State to discourage enlistments and encourage desertion in the mortal struggle of the slave holder's war.

Today about all that is left of it is a remnant "survival of the unfittest" and a recollection of the Knights of the Golden Circle, who sit in silent shame at the feet of wasted patriotic opportunity bathing them in tears penitential but vain.

The friends of freedom won the fight, and the calling of the convention was defeated by a majority of 1,834 in a vote of 11,764.

The 14 counties added by the boundary line amendment, and indeed, all of Northern Illinois were without inhabitants at this time. Sangamon was the northernmost county in the State.

This was the first defeat of the pro-slavery propaganda which had become dominant in National politics.

This failure to make Illinois a slave State, contributed to an extent which can hardly be overestimated, to the maintenance of the Union when the question of maintaining the Union was submitted to the arbitrament of war.

The geographical position of the State with its railways and rivers and its large capacity to furnish the material of war, gave it fundamental importance. Cairo was a most advantageous strategic point. From this point, at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, the Union army and navy could command the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. From this point the first important attack was made upon the Confederate lines, resulting in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the city of Nashville and opening a way into the heart of the state of Tennessee. Commanding the Mississippi, the Union troops passed into Missouri by the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad and up the Missouri river, turned the extreme left flank of the Confederate army, and practically gained control of the state.

From Chicago down the canal, seen by Judge Pope and foretold as a tie to bind together the Union; came steam tugs which were useful in naval operations from Cairo to the gulf. The lumber and coal which built gunboats came from the forests and mines of Illinois. Illinois was the point of the wedge, which entering at Cairo split the Confederacy in twain, opening the Mississippi to the sea.

But above and beyond all material forces is the moral energy which organizes and directs them. The result of the victory of 1824 stimulated migration. The northern part of the State was rapidly settled by people who believed in liberty for all men and who were loyal to the Union. The majority were true to these ideals. It was this ideal and the patriotic consecration which it inspired, and which the victory of 1824 had made dominant in the State, which enabled Illinois to send a quarter of a million volunteer soldiers into the army of the Union. It was this victory which enabled the State 37 years afterward

to give to the Union Army its great leader who achieved a standard of military skill beyond the precedents of history. It was this victory which enabled the State to educate and train in the arena of debate on the question of union or disunion, freedom or slavery, the man whose inspired spirit of wisdom and love destroyed slavery and saved the Union of the states making them a nation.

If the pro-slavery party had succeeded in the struggle of 1824, the drama of our State and national history would have been greatly changed. The destruction of the institution of slavery would have been indefinitely postponed and the task of maintaining the Union incalculably more difficult if not impossible. Imagination falters in trying to conceive what might have been the result. It was an event decisive in its effects upon both the State of Illinois and the nation.

Another event decisive in its influence upon the history of the State was the purchase of Louisiana in 1803.

At the close of the war of the Revolution the major part of what is now the Territory of the United States, was in the possession of Spain. She claimed all of east and west Florida up to the 31st degree of latitude and all west of the Mississippi river, known as the Louisiana purchase. Both France and Spain who were with us in our war with England, when the treaty was made in 1782, were more hostile to us than to England. The representative of Spain forsaw and stated that the future expansion of the new nation, would be at the expense of Florida and the vast region beyond the Mississippi, and he proposed to make the Alleghanies the western boundary. France, though our ally, as between us and Spain, was disposed to favor the latter and she proposed that the United States should embrace such of the territory west of the Alleghanies as lay around the head waters of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers north of the Ohio.

Spain, organizing a small expedition in St. Louis and Cahokia had made an attempt at invading Illinois in 1781, and in negotiating the treaty of Paris in 1783 she made a claim to the Illinois county by the right of conquest. She attempted to levy duties upon the products which came down to New Orleans from Kentucky and Tennessee, and regions about the upper river. But it was not long before she found that she would be unable to hold the country against the enterprise, adventure and audacity of the frontier men. She resolved to rid herself of the burden and the Spanish king made a private arrangement with the first Consul, by which he exchanged the vast Louisiana territory for the petty kingdom of Etruria.

Meanwhile Congress had begun to debate the propriety and expediency of taking New Orleans and Florida by force. Livingston and Monroe were negotiating with France for their cession. Napoleon saw the wish and purpose of the United States. He foresaw the difficulty of holding the territory. He was about to go to war with England. "They have," he exclaimed to his minister, "20 ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana

but I already consider the colony as lost." He afterwards said to Marbois, "Let them give you 100,000,000 francs, pay their own claims and take the country." When the minister said something about the rights of the colonists, Napoleon replied, "Take your maxims to the London market." He also said, "I know the full value of Louisiana but the English wish to take possession. They have taken Canada, Cape Breton, New France, Nova Scotia and the richest portion of Asia, but they shall not have the Mississippi which they covet."

The sale was made and when Marbois, Livingston and Monroe signed the treaty, April 30, 1803, they rose and Livingston said, "We may have lived long but this is the noblest work of our lives." The territory had changed hands six times in 91 years. It was now the property of the United States.*

The effect of this transfer of sovereignty upon the United States as a whole, and especially on the states that in future would lie along the river, opens up a field of speculative study. If the first Consul had not sold the territory it would have been seized by England. Those 20 battleships would have passed up the river, and English fleets would have patroled it while English troops would have fortified strategic points from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony. Illinois being on the pathway from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan via the Illinois river, would have been the most important field for military operations in case of war between Great Britain and the United States.

Nine years later British soldiers captured Detroit, Mackinac and practically held the line from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the site of Chicago.

If at this time England had had command of the Mississippi she had only to force her way up the Illinois and make a short portage to the lakes to have had an uninterrupted line from New Orleans to Quebec. To open and command this line was of such fundamental military importance, that it would surely be attempted in case of war.

Happily for Illinois, though then but a sparcely settled territory, the nation of which it was a part controlled the Mississippi river. Had it been otherwise, it would have been a central theatre of war waged upon the settlers by the British and their Indian allies.

If the Louisiana territory had been under the English flag, all of the border states east of the river, including Illinois, would have been constantly exposed to the menace of war by reason of the escape of slaves who would have sought British protection. Those who are familiar with the efforts made by the pro-slavery states to secure a fugitive slave law, which would be effective as between the states, can readily believe that the easy escape of slaves who could swim the river in a night or transport themselves across in a "dug out,"

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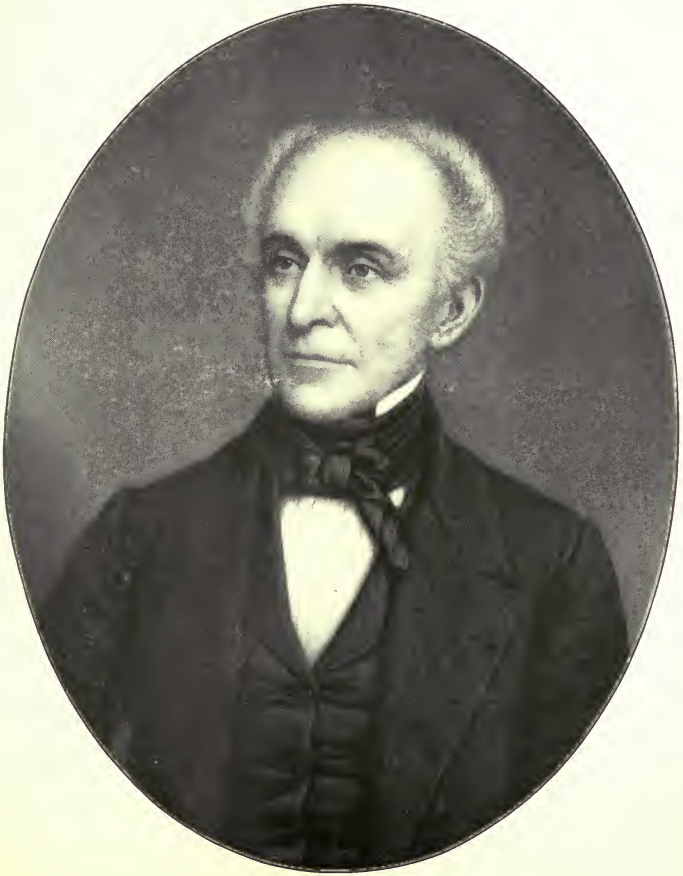
* It was turned over to the commercial dominion of Anthony Crozat in 1712 by Louis XIV. From Crozat it passed in 1717 to the Compagnie de l'Occident; from this company in 1731 to Louis XV; from him in 1762 to Spain; from Spain in 1801 back to France; and in 1803 from France to the United States.

would inflame a passion that would surely have provoked a war. Between the states south of the Ohio and Canada, the free states served as a buffer, and to make war upon the Dominion would have been premature at that stage of the game. But if the Union Jack had sheltered the fugitive within plain view where he could defy his owner it would have become a symbol of what he hated most, and war would have been inevitable. In this Illinois would have had a central share.

Furthermore, even if the institution of slavery had not been an influential factor, the pressure of emigration westward would have filled the Louisiana country with stalwart pioneers. Some of them as early as 1803 had found homes on the Mississippi river. The drift of emigration followed the lines of latitude. There was no disposition to go to Canada. The line of movement was westward. This movement would have been so vigorous, as to be resistless. Carrying with them their love of politics, of organizing and of freedom, they would have soon absorbed the few colonists which England might have planted and the few French already in the country.

This would have led to agitation, revolution and conflicts which would have overthrown English dominion, but it would have been at heavy cost. A struggle of this character would have involved all contiguous states. So I think that the peaceful purchase of Louisana was a decisive event in the building of Illinois. She was not left a border state upon the western limit of the nation. It secured for her the position of a central and keystone state, in a mighty family of states reaching from ocean to ocean.



Edward Coles, second Governor of the State of Illinois.

EDWARD COLES SECOND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS.

Mrs. S. P. Wheeler.

"A painting upon one of the walls of the corridors of this building* represents two flatboats lashed together. Upon one of them stands a man of commanding presence. He is surrounded by his slaves as they gently float down the Ohio river. It is a calm, and lovely morning in May, the sun shining brightly, the heavens without a cloud, and the verdant foliage of spring, just budding out, on the picturesque banks. He, with his slaves and his property, has left the old home in Virginia, and is seeking in a new county, a land of freedom. He is telling the slaves that he has thought much of his duty and their rights, and that they were no longer slaves but free—free as he was—and were at liberty to go ashore or continue the journey with him. The effect on them was electrical. In breathless silence they stood unable to utter a word, but with countenances beaming, with expression which no words can convey and no language describe. After a pause of intense and unutterable emotion, bathed in tears they gave vent to their gratitude and implored the blessings of God on their benefactor." †

Upon this picture hangs the story of our hero Edward Coles, and the destiny of Illinois.

> "He was one
> Of many thousand, such as die betimes
> Whose story is a fragment known to few."

He was born, in the year 1786, upon the old family estate, Enniscorthy, Virginia, amidst slaves, and slaveholders, rocked to sleep upon the breast of the faithful southern mammy, while her soft negro voice crooned sweet lullabies, and spent his boyhood in the companionship of her dusky descendents. He was one of ten children, and in this fact is foreshadowed the strength developed in later years, for as a rule, it is not the pampered only child who achieves great things in life, but he who grows sturdy under the friction of a large family.

His father was John Coles, a colonel in the Revolutionary War, and allied to some of the most distinguished statesmen and politicians of the day. His parents were near neighbors and intimate friends

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* State House, Springfield, Ill.
† Sketch of Edward Coles by Washburne.

of Thomas Jefferson. For Mrs. Coles, who was a woman of rare personal and intellectual attractions, Jefferson showed great affection, which was inherited by her son. He was a protégé of Jefferson, and was assisted by him to obtain an education. In 1805 he entered William and Mary College, and while there young Coles had first presented to his mind the abstract question of slavery. He found that his past life and his views on the subject were greatly at variance. He had imbibed, through association with Thomas Jefferson, the views of that great statesman, who said that "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just and that His justice can not sleep forever;" and when a bill abolishing slavery was lost by one vote, he said: "Thus we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man, and Heaven was silent in that awful moment." After much study and research, young Coles formed the opinion that a man had no property right in his fellow men, and that the principles of slavery were fundamentally wrong, alike injurious to the master and the slave, and that he might more fully study the subject and determine in what part of the non-slave holding portion of the Union it would be best for him to settle, he accepted the appointment as private secretary to President Madison, a position at that time of much dignity and importance, and while a member of the Presidential household for six years made himself very useful to the President and popular with the people. The pleasure and freedom of the home life in the White House being greatly enhanced by the fact that Dolly Madison, the President's wife, was a cousin of his, and when pressing duties prevented the President, young Coles was the escort of the gracious little woman, who sallied forth in her imported gowns, upon which she paid a duty of $2,000. His brother, Isaac Coles, was private secretary to Jefferson, and his sister married Hon. Andrew Stevenson, who was afterwards Minister to Great Britain and was the first American, I believe, who was ever voted the freedom of London. Washburne describes Edward Coles at this time as a young man of 23, the proprietor of a plantation which his father had bequeathed him the previous year, and a certain number of slaves; of a polished education, fine personal appearance, good manners and irreproachable character, well fitted to adorn the position of secretary, and at the same time enjoy the companionship of the great men of the period. Such as Patrick Henry, his kinsman, Monroe, Madison, Jefferson to whom he was allied by so many ties of friendship, Wirt and the Randolphs. The bond between Jefferson and himself was their similarity of views on the question of slavery, and one has only to read the correspondence between young Coles and Jefferson in regard to the holding of slaves, to realize with what prophetic vision Jefferson alludes to the emancipation, brought about by Abraham Lincoln half a century later. It is a fact not generally known, that in writing the Declaration of Independence, the paragraph denouncing slavery which Jefferson had prepared with so much care, and which pleased Adams, was omitted because a majority of Congress thought it unjust to hold George III responsible for a slave trade, carried on by New England ship masters, for the benefit of the cotton and tobacco planters of the

south. While acting as secretary, young Coles was sent to Russia on a mission requiring great diplomacy and sailed on the Prometheus, the first vessel of our navy that went up the Baltic, and so successful was he that the Czar offered to make proper amends, even to sending the offending minister to Siberia. But the life at the capitol only strengthened the determination that he would neither hold slaves nor live in a state that upheld the institution of slavery. Accordingly in the year 1819 he resigned his position and left Virginia with all his slaves and their offspring, for Illinois, traveling through pathless forests, following the water courses and Indian trails, and subsisting upon the game so abundant throughout the country. This brings our hero down to the time when his history and the attempt to fasten slavery upon the State of Illinois are so closely interwoven that they cannot be separated, he being the chosen head of the anti-slavery party, the Moses who was to lead them on to victory.

His first official position in the State was registrar of the land office, where, by his suavity of manner and thoroughly intelligent discharge of his duties, he made many friends. He, like Governor Edwards, rode through the wilds of the country in his own carriage, driven by his negro, and the people, impressed by his ruffled shirt front, knee breeches and silver buckles, to say nothing of his courtly manner, thought it an honor to vote for a gentleman to the manor born. Two years later he was elected Governor, serving in that capacity from 1822 to 1826. The affairs of the State were at this time wholly controlled by pro-slavery men, who seemed bent on making it a slave State. It is said that it was through Jefferson's influence that Edward Coles was made a Governor of Illinois; others attribute his election to the accident of three candidates. There were at this time no distinctive parties in Illinois, and the road was free to all. But did not the same over-ruling Providence that made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States place Edward Coles in the gubernatorial chair?

In his inaugural as Governor he earnestly invoked the interposition of the Legislature in the cause of humanity. He declared that justice required a general revisal of the laws relating to the negro, and that there should be more effective laws preventing the kidnaping of free blacks, a crime committed with impunity. This address as regarded slavery, a subject always dear to his heart, opened up a controversy, says Washburne, involving consequences which can not be measured by human ken. There were at this time (1822) about 1,000 slaves held in the form of indenture in Illinois, and the question naturally arises, had not Edward Coles stepped into the breach would not Illinois have harbored slaves within her borders until 1860?

It may well be asked how it was possible that a state of slavery could exist upon a soil that was supposed to have been consecrated to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, but the condition is easily understood when we recall, that Illinois, being originally a part of Virginia, there were naturally quite a number of slaves in the Territory when it was ceded to the United States in 1784, and it was then stipulated that persons who claimed to have been citizens of Virginia,

prior to the cession should be protected in the right to hold their slaves, but in 1787 Congress passed an ordinance which declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, should exist in the northwestern territory of which Illinois was a part, and the framers of the Constitution of 1818, when the Territory became a State, also endeavored to carry out the will of Congress, and it was generally conceded that a state formed out of the northwestern territory could not be admitted into the Union contrary to the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 which prohibited slavery but the slave propagandist contended that it could be done, and that Congress had no more right to abolish slavery in Illinois than in Virginia, and that the future prosperity of the State demanded the existence of the traffic in human souls. The times were hard, the farmer could find no market for his abundant crops, manufactories languished, improvements were at a standstill, and the mechanic was without work. The flow of emigration to the State, had in a measure ceased, but a great emigration passed through the State to Missouri; numbers of well-to-do emigrants from the slave states, taking with them their slaves, were then leaving their homes to find new ones west of the Mississippi, who avowed their only reason for not settling in Illinois was that they could not hold their slaves there, and people denounced as unwise the provision of the Constitution prohibiting slavery and thus preventing a large influx of population to add to the wealth of the country.

The scheme was devised by the pro-slavery men to call a convention to amend the Constitution that had been in force scarcely four years, and that served all the needs of a rapidly increasing population for more than 30 years. No objection was openly made to the Constitution of 1818, or to any of its provisions, but the covert objection lay in the fact that this instrument provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should exist in the State of Illinois. Secretly the pro-slavery element carried on the struggle, and in 1822 the General Assembly voted to submit to the voters of the State a proposition for calling a convention to amend the Constitution. This proposition was therefore submitted to a popular vote, and Aug. 2, 1824, was the time fixed for the election. The agitation for a convention commenced and was favored by every pro-slavery elector of the State, the convention party never dreaming of any result than in their own favor. The day had now arrived when the will of the people of Illinois must decide. Should a convention be called, there was no question that the then existing Constitution prohibiting slavery would be changed, and a Constitution authorizing slavery would be adopted. Then the naked question was presented: Shall Illinois be a free or a slave State?

The contest was a bitter one, from the first hour it was mooted and grew in bitterness as the canvass progressed. The question was discussed for 18 months, at the fireside, on the stump and at the cross roads; the press teemed with publications on the subject; the pulpit thundered anathemas against slavery, and Reynolds says:

"Men, women and children entered the arena of party warfare and strife, and families and neighborhoods were so divided and bitter against one another that it seemed as if a civil war was inevitable. The religious community coupled freedom with Christianity which was one of the most powerful levers used in the contest." Judge Anthony says: "Each anti-convention member of the General Assembly contribued $50 for the common fund, Governor Coles gave his four years' salary, amounting to $4,000, to the work, and Samuel D. Lockwood resigned his position as Secretary of State, with its meager fees, and accepted a larger salary, as receiver of public moneys, devoting all his surplus income to the cause. The convention men formed secret clubs, with grips and signals, and adopted as a password, 'Convention or die'; but it was of no use; there was a God in Israel." The anti-convention and anti slavery party became thoroughly united, and were led by men that knew no fear, whose convictions were so strong that they would have gone to the scaffold or the stake singing hosannas to God. They belonged to the class of martyrs that have worshipped God and died for the old cause. Coles threw into the contest his soul, his conscience, his money and estate, and in return he was harrassed by malicious law suits, a victim of the prejudices of unjust judges, mobbed by a rabble, maligned and misrepresented in every possible way, but conscious of right and justice, and battling in a great and holy cause, he was not dismayed or discouraged. The battle was fought and won, the anti-slavery men winning the day.

For the proposed convention there were 4,972 votes, and against 6,640, or a majority of 1,668 against a convention, and it may not be out of place to state, that of this majority against, Sangamon county gave 569, the largest majority given by any one of the 30 counties in the State.

Thus ended one of the most wonderful political dramas ever enacted, either State or National, and the generations that came after Governor Coles have reaped the fruit of his toil and sacrifice, but no monument in Illinois has ever been reared to his memory, and his name is almost forgotten. The only recognition being the painting on the walls of one of the corridors of this building* and the naming of a county for him. Can Illinois longer refuse justice to that memory?

Washburne in his sketch of Edward Coles says: "We regard Mr. Coles as John, the forerunner in his course and career, and we have no doubt he had more or less influence upon the life and destiny of the immortal Lincoln, who was thoroughly acquainted with his persecutions, his sacrifices and his martyrdom to make Illinois a free State."

Governor Coles had freed his slaves before entering the State, giving the head of each family 160 acres of land, but after his arrival at Edwardsville for their better protection he gave separate papers of manumission to all his former slaves, not knowing of the law of this State previously passed prohibiting any person from bringing into the State any negro for the purpose of emancipation, unless he

*Capitol building, Springfield.

should give bonds in the penalty of $1,000 that the negro should not be a county charge, and that if the emancipator neglected to give his bond he should forfeit and pay the sum of $200 for every negro emancipated.

The pro-slavery men glad of an opportunity to harass, and punish him, instituted a suit against him. The verdict rendered was $2,000, but judgment was afterwards reversed. The administration of Governor Coles was an eventful as well as an excellent one for the State. He took great interest in public affairs and attended to the minutest detail of his office as the correspondence in his own hand will attest. During his administration the Illinois and Michigan Canal was incorporated and school and road laws enacted. But he was not a popular man "a man of strong convictions must always have enemies" but even they in later years expressed the highest respect for his character, and gratitude for his services.

Edward Coles while acting as second in several cases of so-called honor, prevented bloodshed by reconciling the parties, notably the case of Thomas Randolph's in his quarrel with Edward Randolph. He also reconciled President Adams and President Jefferson.

Notwithstanding the fact that he was brought up under the Virginia code, in which a man, says Curtis, might debauch his neighbors, rob them at the gaming table, impoverish his own family and fall under the table in a drunken stupor without injury to his social position but if he allowed himself to be called a liar, or a coward his reputation could only be repaired with the sword.

While traveling in Europe, Edward Coles was presented to Louis XVIII and also made the acquaintance of the distinguished French General LaFayette who, while making the tour of the United States seven years later, was induced to include Illinois in his itinerary, and was delighted to find in its Governor the young friend he had met in France. The Legislature had extended the invitation and had been liberal in making provision for the expense of the entertainment which amounted to $6,473, about one-third of the tax receipts for the State treasury that year. A large delegation from Missouri accompanied the General from St. Louis to Kaskaskia where a reception was held at the residence of Colonel Edgar. Governor Coles delivered the address of welcome, to which a feeling response was made in very good English by the honored guest; the entertainment concluding with a grand ball at the stone mansion of Pierre Menard. At Shawneetown his path was carpeted from the landing to the mansion of General Rawlings and flowers were showered upon him by little girls arranged along the way. This house still stands.

No history of Governor Coles would be complete which failed to mention the part taken therein by the Lieutenant Governor. Governor Coles being obliged to make a trip east, and as the only motive power was the horse, he notified Lieutenant Governor Hubbard that he would be absent from the State three months, Hubbard being acting Governor for ten weeks and being pleased with the position, concluded it would be a good thing to hold on to it, he therefore set

up the claim that Governor Coles by absenting himself had forfeited the office, and that he was Governor, but after a fruitless effort to make the State view it in the same light, he retired.

After his retirement from office Governor Coles did not mingle in politics, although in the spring of 1831 he was invited by a large number of his friends to become a candidate for Congress at the election to take place in August. He accepted the invitation, but declared that he did not offer himself as a candidate of any party but if elected he should be faithful to the trust imposed upon him. That he would not be a creature of party nor the humble follower of any man, but guided by republican principles he would endeavor to promote the best interests of the State. The late Judge Breese also came out as a National Republican candidate, but both were overwhelmingly defeated by Joseph Duncan, the candidate of the Jackson party. Some one has said: "Historic truths ought to be no less sacred than religion. If the precepts of faith raise our souls above the interests of this world, the lessons of history in their turn inspire us with the love of the beautiful and just, and the hatred of whatever presents an obstacle to the progress of humanity," and I should fail to do justice to the memory of those men of heroism, who so valiantly aided Governor Coles by word, and pen, in his endeavor to make Illinois a free state should I not mention first the Englishman, Morris Birkbeck, who wielded such an influence under the *nom-de-plume* of Jonathan Freeman. It was he who designated slavery as the leprosy of the United States, a foul blotch which more or less contaminates the entire system, in public, and private, from the president's chair to the cabin of the hunter. Samuel D. Lockwood of whom Beecher said: "He was a man of unwavering devotion to sound principles, and the public good in every position he held. His services to the cause of liberty deserve warm recognition."

"The calm and philosophic George Flower, and no one enlisted with a truer heroism than he in the cause of humanity. The fearless John M. Peck, a minister of the gospel, who fired his brother preachers with an ardent love for liberty, kindred to that which animated his own breast. George Forquer, Thomas Mather, William H. Brown, and Daniel Cook the attorney for Governor Coles. The descendants of some of these men are now living in our midst, and it is the consensus of opinion that the English colony saved the day for Illinois."

Illinois was fortunate in the beginning in having for her founders a race of great men and the real history of the State must be found in their lives. All honor to them and to those sturdy, pioneer historians, Peck, Morris Birkbeck, Brown, Reynolds and Ford, who amidst the vicissitudes and privations incident to the early life stopped to chronicle the passing events and to hand down to us their fame, and I reiterate, a man who could step out from his environments as did Edward Coles and calm the heated passions of man, preventing bloodshed; the man who could sway the opinions of the giants of the day, who could claim kinship to Patrick Henry and Dolly Madison and who enjoyed the intimate companionship of Thomas Jefferson,

Madison, Monroe and LaFayette, must have been, to use the good old colonial expression, a "man of parts," the peer of his fellowmen.

At the close of his term of office as governor, Coles removed to Edwardsville and engaged in cultivating his farm, he was fond of agriculture and was the founder of the first agricultural society in the State. Ten years later we find him in Philadelphia where in the full strength of years "he fell asleep." He rests from his labors but how truly can it be said of him "his works do follow him."

Edward Coles was a giant in the land; his character an unique one, standing out alone; in the light of today with the principles of freedom so fully established, it is difficult for us to realize the bravery necessary for Edward Coles to take the stand he did. No Wendell Phillips had thrilled the the country with his eloquence on the subject of slavery. No Lovejoy had laid down his life for his fellowmen. It was before Harriet Beecher Stowe with her Uncle Tom's Cabin had aroused the conscience of the people that Edward Coles imbued with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and true to his convictions, first freed his own slaves and in the face of bitter opposition, fought the battle that saved our State from the blighting curse of slavery.

The commonwealth of Massachusetts produced a Phillips and a William Lloyd Garrison, but it remained for the glorious State of Illinois to give to the world two such kindred spirits as Abraham Lincoln and Edward Coles and "though his ashes do not lie mingled with the soil of the State he served so faithfully, yet his name and memory shall live so long as the State shall have a place in history." Nor should we forget that the first great triumph of anti-slavery, in a political contest, after the Declaration of Independence was fought upon the soil of Illinois, our mighty State, whose phenomenal progress has been a source of pardonable pride to all her citizens and the heart of the Frenchman should feel no greater thrill at the sound of his favorite Marseillaise than we at "Illinois, Illinois."

Last Relic of Fort Chartres. The Powder Magazine. Photograph taken 1903.

FORT DE CHARTRES—ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DECLINE.

Joseph Wallace, M. A.

Illinois, as seen in the light of today, is modern, new and prosaic, and it is difficult for the present generation to realize that it has any history dating beyond the time of the American pioneers. Within the territorial confines of this State are found but very few buildings or other works of civilized man that bear the stamp of age and around which cluster historic memories. What little remains to us of the distant past must be carefully sought for in out of the way and neglected spots or corners of the State. Such is the case with the old and well nigh obliterated fort whereof I am now to treat, the ruins or débris of which lie in the American Bottom, in the extreme northwestern corner of Randolph county.

Fort Chartres, or Fort de Chartres, was the seat of French power and authority in the upper Mississippi valley for five and forty years, and of the British authority for seven years; and any full and faithful account of it would necessarily include very much of the early history of Illinois during that extended period. The subject is a large one, fraught with a strange and romantic interest; but the limits of the present occasion will preclude me from attempting more than a clear and connected summary of the principal facts and occurrences in the long and checkered story of this famous fortress.

Fort Chartres was the creation of the Company of the West, or Mississippi company, which was organized by the celebrated John Law, in August, 1717, immediately after the surrender by the Sieur Antoine Crozat of his patent and privileges in Louisiana to the French crown. This commercial company and its early successor, the Royal India company, held sway in the province of Louisiana, of which Illinois formed a part, for 14 years.

On the 9th of February, 1718, three ships of the Western company—the Dauphin, Vigilante and Neptune—arrived at Dauphin island with officers and men to take possession of Louisiana. On one of these vessels, or on the frigate La Duchesse de Noailles, which arrived at Ship island on the 6th of March following, came Pierre Duqué de Boisbriant, a French Canadian, who had been commissioned first king's lieutenant for the province of Louisiana, and who was the bearer of a commission appointing his cousin, Le Moyne de

Bienville, governor and commandant general of the province, in place of M. L'Epignay, removed. [See Pennicaut's Annals of La. from 1699 to 1722.]

In the early part of October, 1718, Lieutenant Boisbriant, with several officers and a considerable detachment of troops, departed by *bateaux* (boats) from Biloxi, through Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and up the Mississippi, to regulate affairs in the Illinois country and to establish a permanent military post for the better protection of the French inhabitants in that northern district of the province. Arriving at Kaskaskia late in December of that year, he there established his temporary headquarters, which was the first military occupation of the village. This, however, was continued for only about 18 months.

BUILDING OF THE FIRST FORT.

Having selected what was considered a convenient site for his post, some 18 miles above and to the northwest of Kaskaskia, de coisbriant sent thither a large force of mechanics and laborers to work in the forest. By the end of the spring of 1720 they had built and practically completed the fort, which was henceforward the headquarters of the company and commandants and the center of both civil and military authority in the Illinois. The fort stood on the alluvial bottom about three-quarters of a mile from the Mississippi river and near to an older fortlet that had been erected by the adventurers under Crozat. Midway between it and the bluffs on the east extended a bayou or lake which was supposed to add to the strategic strength of the place. It was named Fort de Chartres, presumably in compliment to the Regent of France from the title of his son, the Duc de Chartres. The fort was built of wood and was of very considerable dimensions, but whether it was furnished with bastions or not is uncertain. It is described as a stockade fort, fortified with earth between the rows of palisades. Within the enclosure were erected the commandant's house, the barracks, the large storehouse for the company, etc., the same being constructed of hewed timbers and whip-sawed plank. Although not a strong fortification, except as against Indian attacks, it was made to answer for a full generation the needs of its builders and the military commandants who successively ruled here. It formed, moreover, an important link in the lengthened chain of French posts stretching from eastern Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. The idea of this long line of military and trading posts appears to have originated in the fertile brain of that great explorer, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle.

Upon the completion of the fort, a village began to grow up on the bottom between it and the river. Here the company erected its warehouses and the enterprising Jesuits built the church of St. Anne de Fort Chartres. With the advent of de Boisbriant and his associate officers, there was introduced in the district of the Illinois a more settled form of government than the French colonists had previously known, and they were now able to secure titles to their lands which had hitherto been held at the sufferance of the Indians.

THE FORT UNDER BOISBRIANT AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

The most notable of the early arrivals at the fort was Philippe Francois de Renault, a man of fortune and director-general of the mining operations of the western company. He had left France in the spring of 1719 with 200 miners and laborers and everything needful for the prosecution of his enterprise. On his voyage to Louisiana he stopped at St. Domingo and purchased some 500 Guinea negroes to work in the mines. A number of these were brought by him to Illinois and thus African slavery was introduced here, though the enslaving of Indian captives was already in vogue. Arriving at Fort Chartres early in the year 1720, he made it his principal headquarters, from which he sent out prospecting parties into various parts of Illinois and Missouri in search of the precious metals. But, after spending a large amount of money and three or four years of time, he had to content himself with dull lead which he found in abundance. In June, 1723, de Boisbriant, as the representative of the king, and Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins on behalf of the India company, granted to Renault a tract of land a league in width and two leagues in depth, situated in the southwestern part of what is now Monroe county and fronting on the Mississippi. On this land the latter laid out a small village to which he gave the name of St. Philippe, and which was located about five miles above Fort Chartres.

During these years several other large concessions of land were made by the company to prominent personages in Illinois, including one to Boisbriant himself, on which was afterward established (by his nephew, Langlois) the still existing village of Prairie du Rocher.

On the 12th of October, 1721, Father Xavier de Charlevoix, accompanied by an armed escort, arrived at Kaskaskia in the course of his memorable journey through the French possessions in North America. In the published journal of his travels, referring to Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, he writes: "I arrived next day at the Kaskasquias. The Jesuits had here a very flourishing mission, which has lately been divided into two, because it was thought proper to form two villages of savages instead of one. The most populous is on the side of the Mississippi. * * Half a league below is Fort Chartres, about a musket shot from the river. M. Duquét de Boisbriant, a Canadian gentleman, commands here for the company to which the place belongs; and all the space between the two places begins to be peopled by the French."

From the above extract, it appears that the principal village of the Kaskaskia tribe was then located a short distance above Fort Chartres. One of the escorts of Charlevoix through the Illinois was a young Canadian officer named Louis St. Ange de Bellerive. He became stationed here, and was destined in later years to twice exercise command at the Fort.

In 1725 Governor Bienville was recalled to France, and Boisbriant, as first Lieutenant of the province became acting governor of Louisiana, with headquarters at New Orleans. His position as major-

commandant at the Illinois was in no long time filled by the Sieur de Liette, a captain in the royal army. The latter, during his term of office, was much harassed by the Renard or Fox Indians from the north, who frequently made predatory incursions in the neighborhood of the French settlements.

In 1730 deLiette was succeeded in command at Fort Chartres by Capt. St. Ange de Bellerive, who held the possition for four years. During his incumbency, in 1731, the India company (successor to the Company of the West) retroceded its patent and vast privileges in Louisiana to the king; and on April 10, 1732, by proclamation of Louis XV, the jurisdiction and control of the government and commerce of the country reverted directly to the crown. Another government was at once organized for the Province of Louisiana, which separated it from Canada, but retained Illinois as a dependency. Early in 1734 Bienville resumed, by royal appointment, the governorship of Louisiana. In the same year he appointed Capt. Pierre D'Artaguette as major-commandant at the Illinois, in place of St. Ange de Bellerive, who was transferred to another post, possibly Vincennes.

MAJOR D'ARTAGUETTE AND HIS SAD FATE.

Pierre D'Artaguette had served with gallantry in the Natchez war, and afterwards held command of the new fort at Natchez. He was a younger brother of Diron D'Artaguette, a Canadian and an able man, who went to Louisiana at an early day and held various high positions under the colonial government.

In 1735 Governor Bienville planned a military expedition against the hostile Chickasaws, in Northern Mississippi, and Major D'Artaguette was ordered to get in readiness the troops under his command, together with such Illinois Indians as could be induced to join the expedition, and to meet the commandant-in-chief in the Chickasaw country by the 10th of May following. D'Artaguette accordingly left Fort Chartres in the last week of February, 1736, with 30 regular soldiers, 100 volunteers and 200 Indians. Descending the Mississippi to near the Third Chickasaw Bluff, he was there joined by the Sieur de Vincenne or Vincennes, with 20 men and 100 Indians from the Wabash. Marching thence inland, they reached the appointed rendezvous in the vicinity of the Chickasaw villages on the 9th of May. Not being able to restrain his impatient allies, the leader advanced to attack the enemy in his stronghold before the arrival of Governor Bienville with his forces from New Orleans. In the battle that ensued D'Artaguette was severely wounded and captured, together with the Sieur de Vincennes, Father Senat a Jesuit priest, a younger brother of Capt. Louis St. Ange, and about 15 other Frenchmen. In the meantime their Indian allies beat a hasty and cowardly retreat. The prisoners were held for some time by the Chickasaws in the hope of receiving from Bienville a large reward for their release. But this not being forthcoming, the unfortunate captives were tied to stakes and burned to death by slow, remitting fires. The news of

the unhappy fate of D'Artaguette and his brave associates cast a gloom over the entire French colony of the Illinois, and produced a painful and lasting impression on the minds of the inhabitants.

La Buissoniere and de Bertel.

After the cruel death of Major D'Artaguette, Alphonse de la Buissoniére was sent to command at Fort Chartres. During his official term in 1739, he led from the fort a second expedition composed of Frenchmen and natives, to take part in another and somewhat more successful campaign against the stubborn Chickasaws. In 1740 La Buissoniére was succeeded in office by Capt. Benoist de St. Clair, who commanded at the post for something over two years.

In 1742 Bienville was finally recalled from Louisiana, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal was appointed governor of the province in his stead. Under the administration of the latter, in 1743, the Chevalier de Bértel was sent to command at Fort Chartres of the Illinois. In 1744 war was again declared between France and England, and their trans-Atlantic colonies soon became embroiled in the conflict. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, gave both nations a breathing spell, but it was not of long duration. At this period the duties of the Illinois commandant were somewhat trying. The fort had become out of repair, was poorly supplied and its garrison was depleted by desertions. Some of the old time Indian allies of the French had been won over by British agents, and the fear that the English might gain a foothold in the Mississippi valley was ever present to the minds of the more intelligent French inhabitants. De Bértel, in his correspondence with Governor de Vaudreuil, suggested that additional means of defense were required for the protection of the Illinois. Mr. Mason, in his elaborate essay on Fort Chartres, quotes the Marquis de Galissoniére, governor general of Canada (1747-1749), as having sent a memorial on the subject to the king, in which he said: "The little colony of Illinois ought not to be left to perish; the king must sacrifice for its support. The principal advantage of the country is its extreme productiveness; and its connection with Canada and Louisiana must be maintained." Nothing, however, appears to have been done at the time except to enroll companies of militia and to provide for the increase and further maintenance of the garrison at the fort.

In 1749 de Bértel relinquished his command at Fort Chartres to Captain St. Clair, who is said to have signalized his return to the post by marrying the daughter of a Kaskaskia citizen. In the summer of 1751 he was superseded by the Chevalier de Macarty, an Irishman by descent and a major of engineers. It was during his protracted term of office, and under his supervision, that

THE SECOND FORT CHARTRES

was erected. It was built according to plans and specifications drawn by Lieutenant Jean B. Saussier,* a French engineer, and a

* Lieutenant Saussier (or Saucier) afterward settled in Cahokia, where he died toward the close of the 18th century.

maternal ancester of Dr. J. F. Snyder, the president of our State Historical Society. At this period the fort was the scene of much bustle and activity, and these were truly its halcyon days. In one of his Letters of Travel Through Louisiana, dated "At the Illinois, the 15th of May, 1753," Captain Bossu of the French marines, in referring to the fort, says: "The Sieur Saussier, an engineer, has made a plan for constructing a new fort here according to the intention of the court. It shall bear the same name as the old one, which is called Fort de Chartres."

From this letter it seems that the actual building of the new fort was not then commenced, though preparations had no doubt been made for the work. The site chosen for this structure was perhaps a mile above the old fort and half a mile distant from the river. Surprise has been often expressed that the French authorities should have erected so large and expensive a fortification on such a low and ineligible site, but it was in accordance with their settled practice. Nearly all the old French villages were located as a matter of convenience on river bottoms, as near the water as they could well place them, and New Orleans, the metropolis of Louisiana, was founded in a swamp.

This second fort was built of limestone quarried from the bluffs some four miles to the eastward. According to a modern authority, "the finer stone with which the gateways and buildings were faced was brought from beyond the Mississippi." This huge structure of masonry, comprising an area of four acres, was estimated to have cost over 5,000,000 *livres*, or about $1,000,000. "As a means of defense" (writes Breese, in his Early History of Illinois), "except as a citadel to flee to on any sudden attack of the savages, the erection was wholly unnecessary. Official emolument must have prompted it, and some of the many millions of *livres* it is said to have cost must have gone into the commandant's pocket, or into those of his favorites, and they enriched by this mode of peculation."

This extensive fortification was constructed while Louis de Kerlerec was the provincial executive of Louisiana, and he probably shared in the profits of the erection. In June, 1763, he was ordered to return to France, and was accused of various violations of duty and assumptions of power, and particularly with having spent 10,000,000 of *livres* in four years under the pretext of preparing for war. Upon his arrival in Paris he was imprisoned for some time in the Bastile, and is said to have died of vexation and grief not long after his release from that old state prison.*

By the middle of the summer of 1756 the fortress was so far advanced toward completion that it was occupied by the commandant and garrison, and the archives of the local government were deposited therein. This fact is indicated in a letter of Captain Bossu, dated "At the Illinois the 21st of July, 1756," wherein he writes: "I came once more to the old Fort Chartres where I lay in a hut till I

* See Gayarre's Hist. of La., Vol. II, pp. 23-4.

could get a lodging in the new fort which is now almost finished. It is built of freestone, flanked with four bastions and capable of containing 300 men."

With the rebuilding of Fort Chartres on a new site there sprang up at its main gate a thriving village which soon absorbed most of the population of the old village adjacent to the old fort, and which received the name of New Chartres, in the parish of St. Anne. No vestige of this village exists at the present day.

The Seven Years' War with Great Britain was now being vigorously waged and the demands upon Fort Chartres for men and material aid were frequent and pressing. Commandant Macarty labored steadily to meet these demands and several expeditions were sent out from the fort to take part in the great struggle. About the close of the year 1760, the veteran Macarty, after nine years of laborious service at this post, retired from the command and was succeeded by Captain Neyon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville de Villiers who was killed in May, 1754, in the skirmish at Little Meadows, Pa., with a company of Virginia militia led by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington.

Before taking leave of Major Macarty, I may remark that with all due deference to those modern writers who spell his name with a "k" (Makarty), I prefer to follow the older spelling which accords more strictly with both the French and Irish usage. I have learned by some experience that it is necessary to step among these old French names and dates as "carefully as a cat among crockery," and even then one is liable to stumble and fall.

But to return from this digression. During the incumbency of Neyon de Villiers on Nov. 3, 1763, there arrived at Fort Chartres, in a store-boat heavily laden with goods, Pierre Laclede Liguest of the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co., merchants of New Orleans who, in 1762, had obtained from Governor de Kerlerec a special license to trade with the Indians on the Missouri river. After spending most of the winter at the fort, Laclede proceeded up the river in February, 1764, and established a trading post on the site of the present city of St. Louis.

In the month of June, 1764, Captain de Villiers having become impatient at the delay of the British conquerors in arriving (after the treaty of 1763) to take possession of Fort Chartres, resigned his office of commandant, and accompanied by several officers, a company of soldiers and a number of the French inhabitants of the Illinois, departed down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The command of this stronghold now devolved once more upon the veteran St. Ange de Bellerive who had come from Post Vincennes to assume it. With only a small garrison to support him, his position was both difficult and dangerous to fill. But he showed rare skill and address in protecting the French settlers and in dealing with the restless savages who, from time to time, importuned him for arms and supplies to help them in carrying on their futile struggle against the English.

SURRENDER OF THE FORT TO THE ENGLISH.

At length, in the first week of October, 1765, Captain Thomas Stirling, under the orders of General Gage, arrived from Fort Pitt, with 100 Highlanders of the Forty-second British regiment, to receive possession of Fort Chartres. And on the 10th of that month St. Ange formally surrendered the post in a lengthy document, describing in detail the fort, its buildings, appointments and guns. Then the white banner of old France, with its royal *fleur de lis*, was drawn down from its staff, and in its place was displayed the red cross of St. George. Thus was ended the splendid dream of French conquest and dominion in North America. After the performance of this sad act, St. Ange took his departure by boat, with his little company of 30 officers and men, and proceeded up and across the Mississippi river to the new French trading post of St. Louis, which was then in Spanish territory.*

Captain Stirling remained only a short time in charge of Fort Chartres, and probably returned up the Ohio to Fort Pitt. He afterward fought his way to distinction, and died in 1808 a general and a baronet. On the 4th of December, 1765, Major Robert Farmer, with a strong detachment of the Thirty-fourth British foot, arrived from Mobile and took command at the fort. In the following year he was succeeded by Colonel Edward Cole, a native of Rhode Island, who had commanded a regiment under Wolfe at the siege of Quebec. Colonel Cole remained in command here about 18 months, but the position was not congenial to him, and the climate proved unfavorable to his health. He was accordingly relieved, at his own request, early in 1768.

During the year 1766 Captain Philip Pittman, of the Royal British engineers, reached Fort Chartres in pursuance of his orders to examine the European posts and settlements in the Mississippi valley. In his official report or book, printed at London in 1770, he describes the fort and its buildings very fully and clearly, and concludes by saying: "It is generally allowed that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America." He further tells us that at the time of his visit the current had worn away the river bank until it was only 80 paces from the fort. By his valuable work Captain Pittman conferred a great boon upon the students of early Illinois history, and it would be a matter of interest to know what became of him after his return to England in 1768.

Colonel Cole's successor in the command was Colonel John Reed, who became so notorious for his arbitrary oppressions of the French settlers that he was soon deposed, and gave place to Lieutenant Colonel John Wilkins, of the Eighteenth or Royal regiment of Ireland. The latter arrived from Philadelphia and assumed command at the fort Sept. 5, 1768. He brought with him seven companies of his regiment for garrison duty, but many of these soldiers succumbed to the malarious diseases of the country. Colonel Wilkins' government of the Illinois eventually became unpopular, and specific charges

* Captain St. Ange died at St. Louis in December, 1774.

were preferred against him, including a misappropriation of the public funds. He was accordingly removed from office in September, 1771, and sailed for Europe in the course of the following year. During his administration the first court of common law in Illinois was established here, though it did not prove a success.

Colonel Wilkins' successor at Fort Chartres was Captain Hugh Lord, of the Eighteenth British regiment, who continued in command of the country until 1775. During his tenure of office, in the spring of 1772, a great freshet occurred in the Mississippi, which inundated the adjacent bottom and undermined and tore away one bastion and a part of the river wall of the fort.* The commandant and garrison then hastily deserted the place and took up their quarters at Kaskaskia, which was thereafter the seat of British authority until the arrival of Colonel George Rogers Clark and his Virginia militia in July, 1778.

THE FORT ABANDONED—ITS LATER HISTORY.

The story of the subsequent decadence and ruin of Fort Chartres remains to be told. After it was evacuated and dismantled by the British, in 1772, the fort was never again occupied, except occasionally by small bands of Indians. In 1778 Congress reserved from entry or sale a tract of land one mile square on the Mississippi, including Fort Chartres and its buildings. This enactment simply prevented any legal settlement on the reservation.

Major Amos Stoddard, who took possession of upper Louisiana for the United States government under the treaty of purchase with France in March, 1804, visited Fort Chartres about that time, and describes it in his "Historical Sketches of Louisiana," published in 1812. Of the fort he writes: "Its figure is quadrilateral, with four bastions, the whole of which is composed of limestone well cemented. Each side measures about 340 feet. The walls are 15 feet high, about three feet thick and still entire (except the west wall). The stone walls of a spacious square of barracks are also in good preservation, as likewise a capacious magazine and two deep wells very little injured by time. Each port or loophole is formed by four solid blocks of what is here called freestone, worked smooth and into proper shape. All the cornices and casements about the gates and buildings are of the same material, and appear to great advantage. The area of this fort is now covered with trees from 7 to 12 inches in diameter. In fine, this work exhibits a splendid ruin. The inhabitants have taken away great quantities of materials to adorn their own buildings." †

Judge H. M. Brackenridge, of the United States district of Louisiana, in a work published as early as 1817, has the following brief account of an excursion he made to the venerable ruin: "Fort de

* It is related that the water rose to the height of seven feet in the fort.

† Major Stoddard died at Fort Meigs, Ohio, in 1813.

Chartres is a noble ruin, and is visited by strangers as a great curiosity. I was one of a party of ladies and gentlemen who ascended to it in a barge from St. Genevieve, nine miles below. The outward wall, barracks and magazine are still standing. There are a number of cannon lying half buried with their trunnions broken off. In visiting the various parts, we started a flock of wild turkeys which had concealed themselves in a hiding place."

The broken cannon above mentioned were probably iron cannon. In a recently published pamphlet relating to Fort Chartres, by Dr. J. F. Snyder, we are informed that "five cannon were taken from the ruins of Fort Chartres in 1812, by Gov. Ninian Edwards, and mounted on Fort Russell, a mile and a half from the present city of Edwardsville, Ill. One of them was bursted when fired in celebration of Gen. Jackson's victory at New Orleans, in January, 1815. Of the other four, no trace can be found."

In 1820 Dr. Lewis C. Beck and Nicholas Hansen, of Illinois, made a careful survey and drawing of the plan of the old fortress, for insertion in Beck's "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri." At that time many of the rooms and cellars in the building, and portions of the outside walls showing the opening for the main gate and loop-holes for the musketry, were still in a fair state of preservation. According to their measurements, the whole exterior line of the walls and bastions was 1447 feet. The walls, built of solid stone, were in some places 15 feet high, and the area of the fort embraced about four acres.

In the summer of 1829 James Hall, that gifted writer of early Illinois, visited the ruins of Fort Chartres, which, in the first volume of his "Sketches of the West," he thus portrays: "It was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are covered with a vigorous growth of forest trees and a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines. Even the crumbling pile itself is thus overgrown, the tall trees rearing their stems from piles of stone, and the vines creeping over the tottering walls. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations could be easily traced. A large vaulted powder magazine remained in good preservation. The exterior wall was thrown down in some places, but in others retained something like its original height and form. One angle of the fort and an entire bastion had been undermined and swept away by the river. which having spent its force in this direction was again retiring, and a narrow belt of timber had grown up between the water's edge and the river bank. It was curious to see in the gloom of a wild forest these remnants of the architecture of a past age."*

Gov. John Reynolds appears to have twice visited the ruins of Fort Chartres, the first time when he was but a youth. In his "History of My Own Times," published in 1855, he thus writes: "I examined this fort about 30 years after it was abandoned; and, it is strange! the large trees could grow in that short time, which I saw in the houses and within the walls of the fortification in many

* Judge Hall died in Cincinnati, O., in 1868, aged about 75 years.

places. * * The south and east walls when I first saw them were remaining in their original shape, and they seemed to be about 15 feet high, and were constructed to secure strength and durability. The gateway was open and the jams and cornices were of nicely cut rock. The powder magazine as it is called was constructed in the most substantial manner. * * This magnificent fortress, built at so much expense in the wilderness of America, has been declining for the last 80 odd years."

"I visited this fort on the 10th of October, 1854, and found it a pile of mouldering ruins. In places the walls were torn away almost even with the ground. * * * Thus perish the works of man."

In 1879 the late Edward G. Mason of Chicago made a pilgrimage to the ruined fort and viewed it with the eye of an antiquary. From his exhaustive paper on this subject, printed in 1880, we make a few pertinent extracts, as follows: "The Fort Chartres reservation was opened to entry in 1849, no provision being made concerning what remained of the fort. The land was taken up by settlers, the area of the works cleared of trees and a cabin built within it, and the process of demolition hastened by the increasing number of those who resorted there for building material."

Referring to the changes in the channel of the Mississippi and the isolation of the fort, he writes: "The channel between the fort and the island in front of it, once 40 feet deep, began to fill up, and ultimately the main shore and the island were united, leaving the fort a mile or more inland. A thick growth of trees speedily concealed it from the view of those passing upon the river, and the high road from Cahokia to Kaskaskia, which at first ran between the fort and the river, was soon after located at the foot of the bluffs, three miles to the eastward. These changes, which left the fort completely isolated and hidden, gave rise to the report of its total destruction by the river. * * * But this is entirely erroneous. The ruins still remain; and had man treated it as kindly as the elements, the old fort would be nearly perfect today."

Of the powder magazine he gives us this interesting description: "Yet, though so much is gone of the ancient surroundings, and of the fort itself, it was an exceeding pleasure to find the old magazine still almost complete, and bearing itself as sturdily as if conscious that it alone is left of all the vast domain of France in America. It stands within the area of the southeastern bastion, solidly built of stone, its walls four feet in thickness, sloping upwards to perhaps 12 feet from the ground, and rounded at the top. It is partially covered with vines and moss, and one might travel far and wide in our land to find an object so picturesque and so venerable. But for the loss of its iron doors and the cut stone about the doorway, it is well nigh as perfect as the day it was built. Within, a few steps lead to the solid stone floor, some feet below the surface, and the interior, nearly 30 feet square, is entirely uninjured. You may note the arched stone roof, the careful construction of the heavy walls, and the small apertures for light and air curiously protected against injury from without."

In a later publication I find a short description of the old magazine which is here introduced as supplementary to that of Mr. Mason. It reads as follows: "The northeastern bastion having the flag staff was higher than the others. In the southeastern bastion was situated the magazine of stone, laid in cement, now as hard as flint. It is yet in sound preservation, its vertical end walls 25 feet in height closing the arch between. Its floor, seven feet below the surface, and its interior wall plastered with cement, measuring 25 feet by 18, and 20 feet from the floor to the apex of the arch." *

At the present day we are told that nothing of the great old structure remains, save one angle of the outer wall a few feet in height, and the magazine. The latter seems to be proof against time and decay, and barring accidents, may last for an indefinite period. If by some convulsion of nature, or a gradual subsidence of the land, the Mississippi valley should again be covered by the sea, then this vaulted magazine might become imbedded in the strata, and if discovered in after geologic times would perhaps be cited as a proof of the high antiquity of man.

"It is much to be regretted," says a writer familiar with the subject, "that so few of the records and official documents of old Fort Chartres have been preserved to reveal to us the story of its various occupants in the daily life, and of the stirring events and strange, thrilling scenes that transpired there."

CONCLUSION.

I have now, somewhat concisely and imperfectly, traced the eventful history of Fort Chartres from its beginning in 1719 down through its varying stages of growth and decay to recent times. As we pass in review the long array of noted men—French, English and American—who were either actively associated with or were visitors to and describers of the old fortress, it is melancholy to reflect that they all long ago departed to the silent land, and that some of their names have been with difficulty rescued from oblivion. And yet they one and all seem to have left, or sought to leave, some footprints as they passed that succeeding generations might discern they once had been on earth and acted something here.

With students of our western history, it is to be deplored that this large and commodious fortress—the only great architectural work of the French in the entire basin of the Mississippi—over which floated in succession the flags of two powerful nations, should not have been erected upon a firmer and more elevated site, where it might have been preserved intact as an impressive and instructive monument of the past even unto the present time.

Something, however, may yet be done to safeguard the memory of this ancient citadel. The State of Illinois can, and I think it should, purchase the site of the fort, clear and enclose the ground, trace out as far as possible the lines of the exterior walls and the foundations

* *Vide* Dr. Snyder's booklet relating to Fort Chartres, printed in 1901.

of the principal buildings, and transform it into a historic little park. And thus this relic and legacy to us from the remote past might be, in some material form, handed down to posterity.

It is worthy of remark here, that the memory of Fort Chartres is locally preserved in the name of the river landing and ferry in that vicinity.

Perhaps the latest contribution to the literature of Fort Chartres is found in a recent series of short yet interesting articles in the Quincy (Ill.) Whig, descriptive of the ruined fort and its environs as they appear today—written by Dr. Homer Mead of Schuyler county, Ill.

A FEW NOTES FOR AN INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

Ethelbert Stewart, United States Department of Labor, Chicago.

We have but to look at the passing moment to see that the politics of today grows out of and reflects the economic and industrial conditions of today. When history records tomorrow what politics did today, it may or may not note the fact that under it all was a social condition, growing out of a still deeper economic and industrial condition, which compelled history to be what it was.

The tendency to ask "why?" has reached the historian. We want "interpretations of history." We hear much now of the "economic interpretation of history," and will hear more as intelligence advances.

Industrial conditions shape the economic life out of which social conditions grow. The civic and political life grows out of and takes shape from economic conditions. Pay-rolls and price-lists make history. The fur of the beaver, and the difference between the price paid the Indians for that fur and its price in London was the attraction which drew the star of empire westward.

The time is rapidly approaching when it will be impossible to secure sufficient data for an adequate history of the industrial and economic development of Illinois. Each year, with the destruction of each old account book, old pay-roll, old price-list, the difficulty increases. All possible haste should be made to collect and transcribe as many of these as still exist. Back of the old settler is the question why he came to be an old settler? That question must be settled by his old ledger, not by his picture. I have no doubt that a fair number of old grocery accounts and farmers' income ledgers can yet be secured to make a fairly complete and connected history of this economic growth. But we must be quick about it. The task is not so easy here as in colonial New England where the prices of farm products and labor were fixed from time to time by the courts. In New England the courts fixed the exchange value of beaver skins, wampum beads, corn and wheat. In Illinois, coon skins, wampum, and general barter likewise prevailed, but we must learn exchange values from old letters, diaries, and account books, rather than court records which will not aid as much save in rare instances.

The pay-rolls of the American Fur company for 1818 and 1819 are obtainable, and show that the company was just beginning to operate in Illinois, which is spoken of as a "dependency" of the Milwaukee

branch of the company's business. A study of these pay-rolls shows that much higher wages were paid for like services in Illinois than obtained either in the Mackinac district or on the Mississippi below St. Louis. The rates of pay mentioned in these pay-rolls is in the depreciated currency of that time and no attempt will here be made to give present equivalents. If boatmen received but $500 and $600, the rate paid in other districts in 1818, in 1819 they received $1,000 per year in Illinois with no increase for boatmen elsewhere. Interpreters, men who could talk with the Indians, were paid $3,000 a year in Illinois, whereas $1,200 and $2,000 were the rates elsewhere. An interpreter who was getting $2,000 a year at Wabash, Indiana, was transferred to the Kankakee, in Illinois, July 13, 1819, at $3,000 a year. The company paid $700 a year for a tailor in Illinois, which was more than double the wages paid at Mackinac. A carpenter who "was left at Chicago" was on the pay-rolls at $1,200 a year. A "trader," presumably a man well versed in the quality of furs, was paid $3,000 in Illinois, while below St. Louis $1,500 was the rate. Certainly this larger pay would cause a rush to Illinois of all the men the company could be induced to use.

In 1821, the company rated wampum at $5.50 per 1,000 pieces, or beads, and that year sent 20,100 pieces of wampum to Chicago to be exchanged for fur. This treasure came on the Schooner Ann, along with five dozen scalping knives at $1.20 per dozen; and 143 blankets of various qualities and prices. Duck shot was sold for 20 cents a pound. Salt was worth more per barrel than flour, the former being $6, the latter $5. Salt had to come from New York, and its price was the economic reason for the early development of salt wells on the Illinois river, and on the Wabash. The result of these wells, together with Michigan developments, was that salt which, transported from New York, sold in Chicago for $6, dropped to $1.87½ a barrel at the Illinois wells, and the wages of coopers rose to $1,200 per year.

It is not, however, in Cook county, nor in the enterprises of the American Fur company that the substantial early industrial developments are to be sought. Cook county is not mentioned in the census returns until 1840, and then it was the eleventh in population. That census showed Morgan county with almost double the population of Cook; Sangamon had 14,716; Adams, 14,476; Madison, 14,433; while Cook had but 10,201. The economic trend of things which was to give to Cook county its impetus, and make Chicago the wonder of the world, set in between 1830 and 1840. Prior to that the solid development in the State had been in the central and southwestern counties. It is in them must be sought the economic data desired.

We may never know what Mathew Duncan paid his printers on that first newspaper in Illinois which he started in Kaskaskia in 1815; but we ought to be able to get the wages of printers pretty well back in the century. Detroit has the records of printers' wages back to 1837. The best I have been able to do in Illinois is 1852, when the union was formed in Chicago, wages being $12 per week.

We know the salary of the first school teacher of the first school supported entirely and directly by public taxation in the history of the world. This school was opened in Dedham, Mass., in 1644, and the teacher received $67 per year. Inasmuch as Illinois did not seriously undertake a public school system until 1840, would it not be worth an effort to ascertain the salaries of teachers in at least some of the counties, back to the beginning? We know the fees of the first colonial lawyer in 1638, and whether each particular fee was paid in money, wampum or cord wood; and there may be lawyers' diaries and note books lying around in dusty chests that would be of as great interest to the historian of Illinois as is Thomas Lechford's note-book to the historian of Massachusetts. When he tells us he paid $17 a year rent on his living rooms, and $1.87½ to have a dress made for his wife, the relation of expenditures then and now becomes not less interesting than his frantic efforts to defend the followers of Ann Hutchinson before hostile courts.

Before many years our descendants will be as far away from the early days of Illinois as we are from the Mayflower, and they will wonder why we did not do something to preserve for them some record of the human interest, the-every-day-life-side of our history.

In 1835 an official but inadequate census of the industries of the State was taken. This showed, 339 manufactories, 916 mills, 87 manufacturing machines, and 142 distilleries in the State. If the original data or schedules used in that census can be secured they will afford clews through which a very complete picture of economic conditions at that date may be restored.

Doubtless many documents of great value are still in the hands of the descendants of those who began the industrial development of Adams, Morgan, and Sangamon counties, and the counties further to the south.

The lead fields of Galena played an important part in the development of the northern part of the State. Politically they were the cause of the threat of secession made by the Chicago Journal in 1846. They gave the first stimulus to Chicago, and furnished, together with the growth of Chicago, the economic incentive to Wisconsin in seeking to annex to her territory the northern counties of Illinois, thus dismembering the State. At least one Illinois Congressman was offered the United States Senatorship if he would secure a change in the northern line of Illinois from its present position to one direct from the lowest point of Lake Michigan. This would have given Wisconsin the lead fields, and Milwaukee's then rival for lake trade, the growing Chicago.

In 1743, there were but 20 miners in the Galena field, and at surface operations were barely making a living. In 1788 some of them were taking out $30 a day for weeks together. Wages of common labor was $1 a day and board in these fields, or more than twice the wages of New England at the same time. Even then there was no great rush to the lead fields until after July 1, 1825, because the American Fur company was offering better inducements. A report to Congress states that July 1, 1825, there were 100 miners in the

lead fields of Galena; Dec. 31, 1825, there were 151; March 31, 1826, there were 194; June 30, 1826, their number had increased to 406, and by Aug. 31, 1826, to 453. This was the beginning of the rush. Wildcat schemes and speculations followed, of course. The hard times of 1837 which, by restricting consumption, produced that "optical illusion" we call over-production, finally ruined the business. Flour which was bought in Milwaukee for $2.50 a barrel in 1841 was hauled to Galena by wagon and sold for $7. The profits of transportation and trade drew large numbers who were not miners into the mining region, and began that movement which was to make great the northern end of the State and its great metropolis. The trade of the southern end of the State was with the south, the trade of the northern end of the State through Chicago was with the east; and these ledger balances manifested themselves in the sectional views, and legislative opinions in 1860.

The Illinois Historical Society should be able to find some of the pay-rolls and account books of the contractors of the Illinois and Michigan canal; a stupendous work which vitally affected economic conditions for a period of several years, not only in its influence upon wages and employment, but also in securing better prices to the farmer for his products, and through these attracting larger and larger influx of people to the northern part of the State: Did you ever stop to think what the history of this country would have been had the Erie Canal been finished to Philadelphia as originally intended, instead of being deflected to New York. To get a good idea of the "economic interpretation of history," imagine the Illinois and Michigan canal leading to St. Louis instead of Chicago, with New Orleans as our final sea-board market instead of New York, then try to find some familiar faces in a mental picture of 1860.

Railroad building in Illinois began in 1852, and many roads retain their first pay-rolls, and earliest schedules of freight and passenger rates. The men who built the Illinois Central through DeWitt and Macon counties paid $2.50 per week for their board to the farmers along the road; and the graders or common laborers got $1.00 a day; bridge-carpenters, $2.50.

The pay-rolls of the first road to run a train into Chicago are in the possession of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company. They show wages of locomotive engineers to have been $65.00 a month in 1856, the year the road was completed. A few received but $50.00 a month. Firemen were paid $35.00 a month. In the shops of the company, blacksmiths were paid various rates, $2.00, $2.25 and $2.50 a day, according to the work performed. Carpenters the same. Painters received $1.60, and all common labor $1.00 a day.

If I have interested its members in this matter, or successfully pointed its importance, I would suggest that a committee of your society can much more readily find and secure access to the documents, diaries, and account books, revealing early economic conditions than any individual can. While few would be willing to part with such treasures most people would gladly let the society copy such facts as are essential, and later these facts can be brought together into a systematic review.

NECROLOGIST'S REPORT.

In Memoriam.

ELISHA B. HAMILTON.

In obedience to the sad duty of reporting and recording the death of members of the Illinois State Historical Society that have occurred since its last annual meeting, we are pained to announce that General Elisha Bentley Hamilton of Quincy, Illinois, died suddenly of heart disease, near that city, on the afternoon of March 28, 1902, at the age of 63 years, 5 months and 23 days.

He was a native of Illinois, son of Artois and Atta (Bentley) Hamilton, born in Carthage, Hancock county, on the 5th of October, 1838, at the village tavern kept there for several years by his parents. He was the youngest of six children. His boyhood experience was similar to that of many other distinguished men of our State, passing the springs and summers at work on the farm, and attending school during the winter. In the fall of 1856, at the age of 18, he entered Illinois college at Jacksonville and graduated therefrom in June, 1860, receiving the Bachelor of Science degree, and in June, 1873, the college conferred upon him the further degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Full of the martial spirit from his infancy, General Hamilton, when a grown boy was a member of the famous old Carthage Guards. In August, 1862, the second year of the Civil War, he enlisted in company "B", 118th Illinois Volunteer Infantry and served with that regiment until the fall of 1865, winning in many important engagements distinction for bravery and superior soldierly conduct, For gallant and meritorious service he was commissioned first lieutenant in November. 1863, and near the close of the war was promoted to assistant adjutant on the staff of General Fonda, at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. After the termination of the Civil War, retaining his interest in military matters, he aided in organizing the Quincy Guards of which he was elected captain. In 1877 he was in command of the 8th Illinois infantry during the great strike at East St. Louis, and, for the valuable services he there rendered the State, he was commissioned by Governor Cullom a brigadier general. He then served as Inspector General of the Illinois militia under Governors Cullom, Hamilton and Oglesby, resigning in 1887.

General Hamilton became a resident of Quincy in 1866, entering the office of Warren & Wheat as a law student, and was admitted to

General Elisha B. Hamilton, Quincy, Ill.

the bar in January, 1869. He was successively a member of the law firms of Warren, Wheat & Hamilton; Wheat, Ewing & Hamilton; and Ewing & Hamilton. From the summer of 1887 to the spring of 1891 he practiced law in Kansas City, and for a number of years he was the senior member of the law firm of Hamilton & Woods in Quincy.

He was an active politician and always an aggressive Republican, but not of the office seeking variety. Though frequently urged to accept nominations he invariably declined; yet he accepted the appointment of surveyor of the port of Quincy in 1868, and was reappointed by President Grant in 1872. He also served as deputy United States marshal under both Marshals Tanner and Wheeler. He was an enthusiastic member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and served a number of terms as commander of the local (John Woods) post and as senior vice commander of the Illinois Department in 1893-4, and he was also a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee and of the Loyal Legion.

He was a Mason of high degree, in Lodge, Chapter and Commandery.

General Hamilton and Miss Mary E. Fisk of Quincy were united in marriage on the 10th of September, 1878, and she survives him with two children, Elisha Bentley Hamilton and Miss Lucy A. Hamilton.

In stature the general was tall, well proportioned with military bearing and handsome features. In disposition he was kind, genial and affable, with courteous, polished manners. He was fond of ease and quietude, but public spirited, and always ready to aid in any cause having for its object the educational, moral and material uplifting and bettering of the community in which he lived.

With the natural gift of oratory, a fine voice, keen humor, sparkling wit and a limitless fund of anecdotes, combined with virile earnestness and force, he was a superior and very popular speaker.

To him the city of Quincy is largely indebted for her splendid public library, its foundation having been laid by the proceeds of a series of lectures he was chiefly instrumental in having delivered for that purpose. He was also active and efficient in founding the Quincy Historical Society, serving until his death as its vice president. The Quincy schools had no better friend than General Hamilton, and for Illinois College he always retained a strong affection and was one of its most zealous supporters.

Loyalty, patriotism and honor were his distinguishing traits. He was loyal to his country, to his friends, to his home and to every principle of right and justice. In politics he was a partisan, firm in his convictions, always steadfast, fair and manly, devoted to his party and generous and honorable to its adversaries.

General Hamilton was a valued member of the Illinois State Historical Society. He is gone, and we join the citizens of Quincy and the people of the State in sincere sorrow for the loss of the gallant soldier, the able lawyer and highly worthy citizen.

JAMES AFFLECK.

James Affleck, of Belleville, Ill., an honorary member of the Illinois State Historical Society, departed this life, at his home near that city, on the 24th of April, 1902, at the age of 88 years, 8 months and 2 days.

A sketch of his biography, written by himself, was published in the transactions of this society for 1901, from which it is seen that he was a native of Scotland, born at Dumfries on the 15th day of August, 1813. When he was scarcely a year old his parents came to America, landing in North Carolina, and in 1818 they brought him to St. Clair county in this State. For 83 years he was continuously a resident of Belleville, and witnessed its growth from a small village of 200 or 300 inhabitants—in the log cabin and "tallow-dip" era—to a thriving, busy, city of 20,000 people, with all the material and social accessions of modern times.

Mr. Affleck was a skilled and industrious artisan, in earlier life a cabinetmaker, then a contractor and housebuilder, and later, for 36 years, superintendent of the wood department, and patternmaker, of the Harrison machine shops.

He was a very intelligent man, self educated and self elevated to an honorable position in society where all gave him the tribute of their respect and esteem. A Presbyterian for three score years, he was a Christian in fact and belief, a gentleman of pure character and exemplary habits.

He was always deeply interested in the history of Illinois, nearly all of it having been made under his personal observation. He had met, and shaken hands with every Governor of the State from Shadrach Bond to the present Chief Executive, Richard Yates the second.

When Governor Edwards was stricken down with cholera, in July, 1833, and his life rapidly ebbing away, a messenger was sought among the terrified villagers to go at once to Edwardsville, 25 miles distant, for the Governor's brother, Dr. Benjamin Edwards. Mr. Affleck volunteered to go, and leaving Belleville, on horseback, about sunset on the 19th inst., he rode to Edwardsville, and, with the Doctor, returned immediately, arriving in Belleville early next morning, the 20th, a few minutes after the Governor had breathed his last.

Mr. Affleck served for some years, with credit, as city alderman, and also as a member of the board of education; but far preferred the quietude of his home to the duties of public life.

His memory, to the last, was remarkably clear and retentive; and he wrote for various publications many interesting and historical sketches and reminiscent papers relating to early Illinois, that well entitled him to honorary and deserved recognition by this society.

Mr. Affleck was twice married, and is survived by his wife, two daughters and two sons.

His was a useful, valuable and well-rounded life, though unmarked by extraordinary deeds or startling events. He acted well his part in every duty of the humble sphere he occupied, ever conscientious and honorable; and when finally he passed away in the fullness of years and the confidence and esteem of the entire community, he left an enviable record for probity, integrity and fidelity to principle.

ADDENDUM

*PRAIRIE DU ROCHER CHURCH RECORDS.

With translation by Rev. C. J. Eschmann.

1743

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le dix neuf d'octobre j'e sousigne J. Gagnon prestre jebaptisse a la Chapelle de St. Philyppe une enfant nee du meme jour de Legitime mariage de Jean Chavin et de Agniece Lacroix. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de Agniece. Le parrain a ete Jean Jacque Domené demeurant en dit Lieu. La mareinne Jeanne Potier femme de Jacque Millet habitant de la ditte prairie. Le parrain a declare ne Savoir, Signer; La mareinne a signee avec moy de ce interpelle.

J. GAGNON, prestre. JEANNE POTIER MILLET.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le vingt Six d'octobre est decedee dans cette paroisse Theresse Buchet agee dans virons cinq ans edemy. Son Corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglisse en presance de son pere, qui a signe avec moy de ce interpelle. J. GAGNON, prestre. BUCHET.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le vingt Six d'octobre est decede dans cette paroisse un enfans a la prairie du Roches appartenant a Francois Bastien habitant de la ditte paroisse agee dans virons dix huit mois. Son Corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetier de La Chappelle de la ditte prairie avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglisse en foy de quoy j'ay signe de ce interpelle. J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois est decede dans cette paroisse un petis ponis (?) age dans virons cinq ans, appartenant a Michel Lejeune. Son Corps a ete inhume Le lendemain dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Sainte Eglise en presance du bedeau qui a signe avec moy.

J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarant trois Le trente un octobre est decedee dans cette paroisse un enfant agee dans viront 14 mois appartenant Ansiems Joubert sergent des troupes. Son Corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglisse en foy de quoy j'ay signe.

J. GAGNON, prestre.

*Accenting of French vowels is omitted because the printer could not procure the necessary type.

1743

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, on the nineteenth of October, I, the undersigned J. Gagnon, priest, have baptized in the chapel of St. Philip, an infant born on the same day of the legitimate marriage of John Chavin and Agnes Lacroix. Its father and mother gave to it the name of Agnes. The godfather has been John James Domené, living in said place. The godmother, Jane Potier, wife of James Millet, living in the said prairie. The godfather declared not to know to sign. The godmother signed with me upon this request. J. GAGNON, Priest. JANE POTIER MILLET.

In the year 1743, on the 26th of October, there died in this parish Theresa Buchet, aged about 5½ years. Her body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in presence of her father who signed with me upon this request. J. GAGNON, Priest.

BUCHET.

In the year 1743, on the 26th of October, there died in this parish an infant of Prairie du Roches, belonging to Francis Bastien, living in the said parish, aged about 18 months. Its body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of the chapel in the said prairie with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in witness whereof I have signed as required. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1743, there died in this parish a little —— (?), aged about 5 years, belonging to Michael Lejeune. Its body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Bedeau who signed with me. J. GAGNON, Priest.

(Signature not made.)

In the year 1743, on the 30th of October, there died in this parish an infant, aged about 14 months, belonging to Anselm Joubert, sergeant of troops. Its body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our Mother, The Holy Church, in witness whereof I have signed.

J. GAGNON, Priest,

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes, trois le dix novembre est decede dans cette paroisse, Antoine Maguim dit L'esperance, age dans virons trente cinq ans; il est mort apres avoir recu tous les sacrements. Son Corps a ete inhume Le onze du meme mois dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse apres avoir dit La messe Sur Le Corps avec Les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglisse Le meme jour et ans que dessin en foy de quoy jay Signe. J. GAGNON, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarante trois Le douze de novembre est decede dans cette paroisse a onzes heurs du soir francois devillier age dans virons quatorzes mois. Son Corps a ete inhume Le landemain dans L'Eglisse de cette paroisse avec Les ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere La Ste Eglisse en foy de quoy j'ay signe. J. GAGNON, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarante trois Le Seize novembre est decedee dans cette paroisse une Esclave femme elle agee dans virons trente ans appartenant a M Le Chevallier Deberlet Major Commandant des Illinois. Son Corps a ete inhume Le landemain dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les Ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere La Ste Eglise as presensance de Silom qui a signe avec moy de ce interpelle. J. GAGNON, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le vingt quartre de novembre j'e sousi J. Gagnon prestre missionnaire de la paroise de Ste Anne j'ay baptise une enfans ne de la veille du legitime mariage du M francois devillier Enise officier des troupes detachee; de la marienne et dame Elizabett St Ange. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de Marie. Le parrian a ete M. Joseph Buchet Garde Magazine du roy. La mareinne Marie hebert. Le parrain a signer avec moy; La mareinne a declaree ne Savoir signer a fait La marque.

Buchet

marque de
X
Marie hebert.

J. GAGNON, Prestre.

In the year 1743, on the 10th of November, there died in this parish Anthony Magnien, called Lesperance, aged about 35 years. He died after having received all the sacraments. His body was buried on the eleventh of this same month, in the cemetery of this parish, after mass had been said over the body with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, on the same day and year as above. In witness whereof I signed. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1743, on the 12th day of November, there died in this parish, at eleven o'clock at night, Francis Devillier, aged about 14 months. His body was buried on the following day in the church of the parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church. In witness whereof I have signed. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1743, on the 16th of November, there died in this parish a female slave, aged about 30 years, belonging to M. Le Chevallier Deberlet, Major Commanding of Illinois. Her body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Silam, who has signed with me upon this request. J. GAGNON, Priest.

(Signature not made.)

In the year 1743, on the 24th of November, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Anne's parish, baptized an infant born in the village (?) of the legitimate marriage of M. Francis Devillier, *Eririre* (?) officer of the troops detached from the marine, and the dame Elizabeth St. Ange. Her father and mother named her Marie. The godfather was M. Joseph Buchet, Guard of the King's Magazine; the godmother, Marie Hebert. The godfather signed with me, the godmother declaring herself unable to sign, made her mark.

Buchet.

mark of
X
Marie Hebert.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

1743

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le trente novembre je sousigne J. Gagnon prestre missionnaire de la paroise de Ste anne je baptisse deux enfans ne de la vielle d'un Exclave negre infidel et dame sauvagesse ponis, aussi infidele tous deux appartenant a madame St. Ange veuves defer (?) M de St Ange Capitaine informe on a donne a un Le nom de pierre Igniace, a L'autre ce lui de Magdelainne. Le parrain du Garcon a ete M de Lafernne Sargien Major du poste. La mareinne Mademoisselle Cathrine Delessant, Le parrain de La fille a ete Le Sieur Andre Chaverneau. La mareinne Magdelaine Chassin femme de jean baptiste malet, Les parrains et mareinnes avout signi avec moy ou fait Leur marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Signatures Toferng

marque de	marque de	marque de
X	X	X
Andre Chaverneaux	Madelaine Chassen Mallet	Cathrine de Lessart

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le 2 Desbre 1743 je sousigne J. Gagnon prestre missionnair de la paroisse du fort de Chartres Jy baptisse un enfan ne du meme jour du legitime mariage de Maturin pineaux et de Marie Illinoisse. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de marie. Le parrain a ete Lessieur huber finet. La mareinne Marie francoisse Millet femme de dodie, Le parrain a singne avec moy; La mareinnne a declaree ne savoir signes a fait La marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Finet.

marque de
X
Marie francoisse
Millet Dodie
J. Gagnon, Prestre.

Temoin.

L'an mil Sept cent quarante trois Le second de dessembre est decede dans cette paroisse Marie pineaux agee de deux jours Son Corps a ete inhume Le lendemain dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Sainte Eglisse en presance dussieur huber finet qui a signe avec moy.

Finet.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

Termoin.

1743

In the year 1743, on the 30th of November, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Anne's parish, baptized two infants born in the village (?) of an infidel negro slave and a savage ——? also an infidel, both belonging to Madam St. Ange, widow of the late M. St. Ange, Captain ——?. The one they named Peter Ignatius, the other Magdalen. The godfather to the boy was M. de Lafernne ——? major of the post; the godmother, Miss Catherine Delessant. The godfather of the girl was Sir Andrew Chaverneau, the godmother, Magdalen Chassin, wife of John Baptist Malet. The godfathers and godmothers have signed with me or made their ordinary mark, which is a cross.

Lafernne.

Mark of	Mark of	Mark of
X	X	X
Andrew Chaverneaux	Magdalen Chassin Mallet	Catherine de Lessart

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1743, on the 2d of December, (1743) I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of the parish of Fort Chartres, baptized an infant born on the same day of the legitimate marriage of Maturin Pinneaux and Marie Illinois. Its father and mother named her Marie. The godfather was Sir Hubert Finet; the godmother, Marie Francis Millet, wife of Dodie. The godfather signed with me, the godmother declaring herself unable to sign made her ordinary mark which is a cross.

Finet. J. Gagnon, Priest.

Mark of
X
Marie Francis,
Millet Dodie.

In the year 1743, on the 2d of December there died in this parish Marie Pineaux aged 2 days. Her body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our Mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Sir Hubert Finet, who signed with me.

Finet, witness. J. Gagnon, Priest.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le Sept de descembre est decedee Marie Illinoise femme de Maturin pineaux habitant dans cette paroise elle etait agee dans virons quarant ans, elle est mort apres avoir ete confesse et apres avoir recu le St. Viatique et Le Sacrament de l'extreme onction. Son corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetire de Cette paroisse avec Les ceremonies presrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglise en foy de quoy jay Signe de Sconehis(?) sauiivant l'ordannance Le meme jour et ans que dessus(?)

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le dix Sept du mois de descembre Je sousigne J. Gagnon prestre missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne Jay baptise un enfant ne du Seize du meme mois du Legitime marriage de Louis de populus, officier des troupes de La marine et de dame Marie Jachim Longlois. Les pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de Joseph. Le parrian ete M. Joseph bucket, Guarde de Magazin du Roy; La mareinne Marie hebert fille de M. Igniace hebert, Captain de milice. Le parrain a signe avec Moy, La marienne a declaree ne savoir Signer de ce aucuns ? a faite La marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Bucket. [Buchet.] Marque de Marie.
X
hebert.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes trois Le vingt trois Desbre a dix heur du Soir est decedee Ceccilee Bourbonnoi femme de Antoine heneaux habitant dans cette paroisse; elle etoit agee dans virons trente deux ans. Elle est morte apres avoir ete confessee plussieurs fois pendant Sa maladie et apres avoir recu Le St Viatique et Sacrament de L'extreme onction en pleine Connoissance. Son Corps a ete inhume Le lendermain dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les Ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglise en presance des Sieurs Silam rotand qui ont Signe avec moy de ce interpelle.

Silam. J. Gagnon, Prestre.
Rotand. Bubois.

In the year 1743 on the 7th of December there died Marie Illinois, wife of Maturin Pineaux, living in this parish. She was about 40 years old and died after having confessed, received the holy viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction. Her body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies of our mother, The Holy church. In witness whereof I have signed ..... (?) following the ordinance on the same day and year as above. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1743 on the 17 of the month of December I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Anne's parrish baptized an infant born on the 16th of this same month of the legitimate marriage of M. Louis de Populus, officer of the marine troop, and the dame Marie Joachim Longlois. The father and mother named him Joseph. The godfather was M. Joseph Bucket, Guard of the King's Magazin, the godmother Marie Hebert, the daughter of M. Ignatius Hebert, Captain of the militia. The godfather signed with me, the godmother declaring herself unable to sign ..... (?) made her ordinary mark, a cross.

Bucket. mark of Marie
X
Hebert.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1743 on the 23 December at 10 o'clock at night there died Cecilia Bourbonnoi, wife of Anthony Heneaux, dwelling in this parish. She was about 32 years old and died after having confessed frequently during her sickness, and after having received the holy viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction in full consciousness. Her body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our Mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Sirs Silam, Rotand, who signed with me upon request.

Silam. Bubois.
Rotand. J. GAGNON. Priest.

B 1743.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes trois le vingt sept de Decbre, J'ay, sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre, certifis avoir enterre un enfans exclave, age dans virons six semennes, le meme jour et an que dessu avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere, la Ste. Eglis, en presance de Silam Bedeau de la ditte paroisse. En foy de quoy jay signe,

J. GAGNON, Prestre.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes trois le vingt huitieme de Decembre de la meme annee, Je Sousigne N. Laurent, prestre, missionnaire apostolique, Jay baptise en l'absence de M. J. Gagnon, missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste. Anne du Fort de Chartres, une fille nee du, meme mois et jour que est dessus, du legitime mariage de Andre Thomas des Jardins et de Marie Joseph Lorette. Les pere et mere ou lui a donne le nom de Marie Joseph. Le parrain a ete Antoine Lorette, habitant de la sus paroisse, et la maraine Helene Danys, femme de Ignau Hebert, capitaine de milice. Le parain a signe avec moy, et la marainne ajouter declare ne savoir signer, a fait sa marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Marque de
X
Heleinne Danys.

Antoine Lorette.

LAURENT,
P. M. Ap.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes (?), le treizes Janvier, Je sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre mis. de la paroisse de Ste. Anne, ay baptise un enfant, ne du douzes du mesme mois, d'une negresse exclave. Negresse appartenant a M. Du Claud (Emille), officier des troupes detachee de la marine. Le pere est inconu. On lui a donne le nom de Francois. Le parrain a ete Joseph Baron le fils; la mareinne a ete Mademoiezelle Elisabeth Du Claude. Le parrain et la marienne ont declares se savoir signer, ou fait leur marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Marque de
X
Elisabeth Du Claud.

Marque de
X
Joseph Baron, le fils.

J. GAGNON,
Ptre.

B 1743

In the year 1743, on the 27th of December, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, priest, testify to have interred a slave infant, aged about six weeks, on the same day and year as above mentioned, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, the Holy Church, in presence of Silam Bedeau of the said parish. In witness whereof I have signed,

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1743, on the 28th of December of the same year, I, the undersigned, N. Laurent, priest, missionary apostolic, I baptized, in the absence of M. J. Gagnon, missionary of St. Anne's parish of Fort Chartres, a daughter, born in the same month and day mentioned above, of the legitimate marriage of Andrew Thomas des Jardins and of Marie Joseph Lorette. The father and mother named her Marie Joseph. The godfather was Anthony Lorette, living in the above said parish, the godmother Helen Danis, wife of Ignatius Hebert, captain of the militia. The godfather signed with me, and the godmother, having declared herself unable to sign, made her ordinary mark, a cross.

Mark of
X
Helen Danys.

Antoine Lorette.

Laurent,
P. M. Ap.

In the year 1740 (4?), on the 13 th of January, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Anne's parish, baptized an infant, born on the 12th of this same month, of a negress, a slave belonging to M. Du Claud ——(?), officer of the troops, a detachment of the marines. The father is unknown. It was named Francis. The godfather was Joseph Baron, le fils, the godmother was Miss Elizabeth Du Claud. The godfather and godmother declared themselves unable to sign, and made their ordinary mark, a cross.

Mark of
X
Elizabeth Du Claud.

Mark of
X
Joseph Baron, le fils.

J. Gagnon,
Priest.

1744

L'an mil Sept cent quarante quartes Le deux fevrier est decedee Le Sieur obroch de pinquel natifs du bourque de onarville en bosse Evechee de Chartres; il etoit agee dans virons 70 ans. Il est mort de mort de mort Subite, il avoit ete confesse deux jours avant. Son corps a ete inhume le landemain dans Le Cemetrier de cette paroisse avec Les Ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere La Sainte Eglise en presance des Sieurs Robilliard, Dubois, Hennet qui ont signes avec moy de ce intepelle.

Dubois. Hennet. Robbilliard.

J. GAGNON, Prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes quartres Le huit feuvrier j'e sousigne J. Gagnon, prestre missionnaire de la paroisse de St Anne ay baptisse une enfant ne de La veille d'un Exclave negresse appartenant a Sonschagrin on lui a donne Le nom de Charlotte. Le parrain a ete Francois Hennet Les fils, La marienne Charlotte Chassin. Le parrain a signe avec moy, La marienne a declaree ne scavoir signer a faite sa marque ordinaire qui est une croix. J. GAGNON, prestre.

Hennet.

L'an mil Sept cent quarante quatres Le vingt de fevrier j'e sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre, missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne j'ay baptise un enfant exclave ne de la ville du legitime marriage de Joseph negre et de Marie Anne negresse. Ses pere et mere appartenant a M Roy Siergien, Major; on lui a donne le nom de Louis. Le parrain a ete Francois, negre exclave appartenant a M de Lafenne, La marienne Louise, negresse, appartanant a M DeGrin, officier des troupes. Le parrain et La marreinne ou declaree ne savoir signer ou fait leur marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

Marque de Francois
X
Negre.

Marque de Louise
X
Negresse.

J. GAGNON, Prestre

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes quartres, Le vingt Cinq de fevrier, j'e sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre, missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne au Fort de Chartres ay baptise un enfant ne de la ville du legitime mariage de Jean Baptiste Holande et de Charlotte Marchand. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne le nom de Louis. Le parrain a ete M Louis St Ange, officier; La marrienne Madame Elisabeth St Romin, veuve de feu M de St Ange Capitaine reforme. Le parrain et La marreinne.

(Pages 7, 8, 9, 10 are lost.)

1744

In the year 1744, on the 2nd of February, there died Sir Obroch de Pinquel, a native of ————(?), bishopric of Chartres. He was about 70 years old, he died the death of sudden death, he had confessed two days before. His body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Sirs Robilliard, Dubois, Hennet, who have signed with me upon request.

Dubois. Hennet. Robilliard.

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 8th of February, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Ann's parish baptized an infant, born in the village (?) of a negress slave belonging to Sonschagrin. They named it Charlotte. The godfather was Francis Hennet Le fils; the godmother Charlotte Chassin. The godfather signed with me, the godmother declared herself unable to sign and made her ordinary mark, a cross.

(The sign was omitted.) Hennet.

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 20th of February, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Ann's parish, baptized a slave infant, born in the town (?), of the legitimate marriage of the negro Joseph and the negress Marie Anne. The father and mother belonged to M. Roy ————(?) Major, and named him Louis. The godfather was Francis, a negro slave belonging to Lefernne, the godmother, Louisa, a negress belonging to M. De Grin, an officer of the troops. The godfather and godmother have declared themselves unable to sign and made their ordinary mark, a cross.

Mark of Francis X Negro. Mark of Louise X Negress.

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 25th of February, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Ann's parish at Fort Chartres, baptized an infant of the village (?), born of the legitimate marriage of John Baptist Holandi and Charlette Marchand. The father and mother named him Louis. The godfather was M. Louis de St. Ange, an officer, the godmother, Madam Elizebeth St. Romin, widow ——? of M. de St. Ange, Captain ——(?). The godfather and godmother

(Leaves 4 and 5, i. e., pages 7, 8, 9 and 10 are lost.)

1744

L'an mil sept cent quarantes quatres le vingt sept de julliet je sousigne, J. Gagnon, priest, missionaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne, j'ay baptise un enfant ne du meme jour du legitime mariage de Michel Lejeunee et de Madeleine Hennet. Ses pere et mere demeurmant en cette paroisse; en lui a donne le nom de Michel. Le parrain a ete Francois Hennet Sanschagrin le fils, la Mareinne Marie Hebert fille du Sieur Igniace Hebert, capitane de milice. le parrain a signe avec moy; le pere et la mareine ont declare ne scavoir signer de ce auchis (?) Suivant L'ordannance ont fait leur marque ordinaire qui est une croix.

marque
X
du pere

hennet

marque de
X
Marie hebert

J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil sept cent quarante quatres le second aout apres avoir publie trois de mariage auprone de messes paroissialles de L Eglisse de Ste Anne du Fort de Chartres le premier le jour de St. Pierre vingt neufs juin le seconde le premier Dimanche de Julliet le troisieme le second Dimanche Julliet entre Francois Hardy fils de feu Francois Hardy et de Marie Francoise Clontier natif de la paroisse de St. Brieux Eveschee; de son pere Corrantin d'une part et de Helaine Zibert fille de Antoine Zibert dit la Montague, sergent de la compagnie de Mimbret (?) et de Jeanne Gessie demeurant en cette paroisse ne setant trouve ancun empechement legitime je sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre, missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne du Fort de Chartres ay recu leur mutuel consequement de mariage et leur ay donne la benediction nupsialle avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere la Ste Eglise en presance de Janne Gessie la mere de la filles, de Jean Hanrions de Silam et de Francois Dianyois Demar Hanrion qui eut tout signer avec moy de ce interpelle.

marque du
X
Marie francois hardy
Dubois thimorss
Guillamme Ragry

marque de
X
helaine Zibert
Jean Genrion

marque
X
de gare tersie

marque de
X
Gregnire

marque de
X
Demar

J. GAGNON, prestre.

1744

In the year 1744, on the 27th of July, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, a missionary priest of St. Ann's parish, baptised an infant born on the same day of the legitimate marriage of Michael Lejeune and Magdalen Hennet. His father and mother living in this parish named him Michael. The godfather was Francis Hennet Sansachagrin, Le fils; the godmother, Marie Hebert, daughter of Sir Ignatius Hebert, captain of the militia. The godfather signed with me, the father and the godmother declared themselves unable to sign, ———— ? following the ordinance they made their ordinary mark, a cross.

Mark
X
of the father.

Hennet

Mark of
X
Marie Hebert.

J. Gagnon, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 2d of August, after the marriage bans being published thrice during the parochial masses at the church of St. Ann of Fort Chartre. The first time on the Feast of St. Peter, June 29; the second time on the first Sunday of July; the third time on the second Sunday of July, between Francis Hardy, son of the late Francis Hardy and of Marie Francis Clontier, native of the parish of St. Brieux (?), bishopric of ———— (?) of the one part; and Helen Zibert, daughter of Anthony Zibert, called La Montague, sergeant of the company of Mimbret (?) and of Jane Gessie, living in this parish. No legitimate impediment having been discovered, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, a missionary priest of St. Ann's parish at Fort Chartre, have received their mutual consent of marriage and gave them the nuptial blessing with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, The Holy Church, in presence of Jane Gessie, the mother of the bride, John Hanrions, Silam and Francis Dionysius, Demar Hanrin, who all signed with me on request.

Mark of Marie
X
Francis Hardy.

Dubois Tjörnoir.

William Ragry.

Mark of
X
Gregnire.

Mark of
X
Helen Zibert.

Jean Genrion.

Mark of
X
Jane Gessie.

Mark of
X
Demar.

J. Gagnon, Priest.

L'an mil sept cent quarante quatres le cinq: spbre de Septembre, est decedee d'uns cette paroisse a dix heurs du soir, Reneo Hebert, agee dans virons huit ans fils du Sieur Igniace Hebert, capitaine de milice, et de Helaine Dany. Son corps a ete inhume le lendemain dans le cimetiere de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere, la Ste. Eglise. En foy de quoy j'ay signe.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes quatres le huit de Spbre est decede dans cette paroisse une exclave femmelle, agee dans virons cinq ans appartenant a Baron, habitant Des Kohos, Son corps a ete inhume dans le cimetier de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere, la Ste. Eglise. En foy de quoy j'ay signe.

J. Gagnon.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes quatres le vingt Sepbre est decedee dans cette paroisse une exclave adulte appartenant aux enfans de Loissel, habitant dans cette paroisse. Son corps a ete inhume dans le cimetier de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescritte par notre, la Ste. Eglise. Watrin, Jesuiste Pr.

L'an mil sept cent quarantes quatres est decede dans cette paroisse une enfant, age dans virons, un an; appartenant a Aug'tin Longlis, habitant de la Prairie du Roches. Son corps a ete inhume le meme jour dans le cimetier de cette chapelle, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere, la Ste. Eglise. En foy de quoy j'ay signe.

Watrin, Jesuiste.

1744.

In the year 1744, on the 5th of Septembre, Reneo Hebert died in this parish at ten o'clock at night, aged about eight years, son of Sir Ignatius Hebert, captain of the militia, and of Helen Dany. His body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, Holy Church. In witness whereof I have signed. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 8th of September, a female slave died in this parish, aged about five years, belonging to Baron, living in ———(?) Her body was buried in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, the Holy Church. In witness whereof I signed. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 20th of September, an adult slave died in this parish, belonging to the child of Loissel, living in this parish. Her body was buried in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our Holy Church.

WATRIN, Jesuit Priest.

In the year 1744 an infant died in this parish, aged about one year, belonging to August Longlois, living in Prairie du Roches. Its body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of this chapel, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, the Holy Church. In witness whereof I have signed. WATRIN, Jesuit.

1744

L'an mil Sept cent quarante quatres Septieme Le quatre octobre est decede dans cette paroisse une Exclave enfant appartenant a M. Deberlet Major Commandant de La province des Illinois. Son corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les Ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglisse enfoy de quoy jay Signe. WATRIN, p. M. J.

L'an mil Sept cent quarante quatres Le trente aout est decede dans cette paroisse Jean pare avoir ete confesse nayant pas en Le temps de lui administrer d'autres, Sacrament; il etoit age dans virons cinquante ans. Son corps a ete inhume Le meme jour dans Le Cimetier de cette paroisse avec Les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere La Ste Eglise en presance de Silam et de hennet Senschagrin qui ont signes avec moy de se onchis (?) Suivant l'ordinance.

Selam hennet. WARTIN, p. J. mis.

L'an mil Sept cent quatres Le dix Sept octobre je sounigne J. Gagnon prestre missionaire de la paroisse. Ste anne ay baptise un enfans ne de La ville du legitime marriage de Jacque Silam et de Marie Madeleine Collerat. Ses pere et mere en lui a donne Le nom de Joseph. Le parrain a ete Joseph Laroche, La mareine helaine Danis femme du Sieur Igniace Hebert Captaine de milice Le parrain et La mareine on declare ne savoir Signer en fait Leur marque ordinaire qui est une Croix.

Silam. marque de X helaine Danis. marque de X Laroche.

J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes quatres Le dix heurs du Soir est decede en cette paroisse Ethienne gevremon age dans virons quarante cinq: un natifs de la paroisse de la vil ..... a Chanplain, et est mort sans.....Lui administrer anqun sacraments d'allieur il vivoit asse(?) Chretiennement.

1744.

In the year 1744 on the fourth of October an infant slave died in this parrish belonging to M. Deberlet, Major Commandant, of the Illinois Province. Her body was buried on the same day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our Mother, Holy Church. In witness whereof I have signed.

WARTIN, P. M. J.

In the year 1744 on the 30 of August John Pare died in this parish having confessed, there remained no time to administer the other sacraments to him, he was about 50 years old. His body was buried the same day in the cemetery of this parish with the ceremonies prescribed by our Mother, Holy Church, in presence of Silam and of Hennet Sonschagrin who signed with me ..... (?) in accordance with the ordinance.

Silam, Hennet.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744 on the 17th day of October, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, a missionary priest of St. Ann's parish, baptized an infant of the village (?) born of the legitimate marriage of James Silam and of Marie Magdalen Collerat The father and mother named him Joseph. The godfather was Joseph Laroche, the godmother Helen Danis, wife of Sir Ignatius Hebert, Captain of the of the militia. The godfather and the godmother declared themselves unable to sign and made their ordinary mark, a cross.

	mark of	mark of
	X	X
Silam.	Helen Danis.	Laroche.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744 on the 18th of October about six o'clock in the evening, Ethienne Gevremon died in this parish, aged about 45 years, a native of the parish of the ....(blurred)....? .....? in Chanplain. He died without any sacrament being administered, otherwise he had lived in a Christian manner.

Son corps a ete inhume le lendemain dans le Cimetier de La Chapelle de La Concession avec Les Ceremonies prescrittes par notre mere La Sainte Eglisse en presance de Gabriel Dodie de Jacque Millet qui ont signes avec moy de Ce onchis (?) Suivant L'ordonance.

J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes quatres Le vingt deux d'octobre Je sousigne J. Gagnon prestre missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste Anne du fort de Chartres ay baptisse un enfant ne de la veil du Legitime mariage de M. Joseph Buchet Garde, des magazine du roy et dame Marie francoisse potier. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de Alexandre. Le parrain a ete M. Alexandre du Claud officier des troupes; La mareinne damoysselle Marie hebert fille de M. Igniace hebert Capitaine de milice. Le parrain a Signe avec moy, La mareine a declaree ne Savoir Signer a fait Sa marque ordinaire qui est une Croix.

Suclos.
Buchet.
Marque
X
de Marie Hebert. J. GAGNON, prestre.

L'an mil Sept cent quarantes quatres Le vingt quatres d'octobre Je sousigne J. Gagnon prestre ay baptisse un enfant ne de La veil du Legitime mariage de Antoine Zibert dit La montague Sergent de la Compagnie de M. de Mimbret et de Jeanne Le gueder. Ses pere et mere on lui a donne Le nom de Thomas. Le parrain a ete Thomas de mare; La mareinne marie barbe fem de Jean hanrion habitant dans cette paroisse. Le parrain et La mareine on delares ne Savoir signer ny Ecrive de ce onkis (?) suivant L'ordonance on fait Leur marques ordinaires qui est une croix.

Marque
X
de Marie

Marque
X
de Demar

J. GAGNON, prestre.

His body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of the Chapel of the Concession with the ceremonies prescribed by Our Mother, the Holy Church, in presence of Gabriel Dodie and James Millet who signed with me ———? following the ordinance.

(Signatures neglected.) J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 22d of October, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, missionary priest of St. Ann's parish of Fort Chartres baptized an infant born in the village of the legitimate marriage of Joseph Buchet, guard of the King's magazin and Dame Marie Francis Potier. The father and mother named him Alexander. The godfather was M. Alexander DuClaud, an officer of the troops, the godmother, Miss Marie Hebert daughter of M. Ignatius Hebert, captain of the militia. The godfather signed with me, the godmother declared herself unable to sign and made her ordinary mark, which is a cross.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

Buchet.
Suclos.
Mark of
X
Marie Hebert.

In the year 1744, on the 24th of October, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, a priest, baptized an infant born in the village, of the legitimate marriage of Anthony Zibert, called LaMontague, sergeant of the company of M. de Mimbret, and Jane Le Gueder. His father and mother named him Thomas. The godfather was Thomas Demar, the godmother, Marie Barbe, wife of John Hanrion, living in this parish. The godfather and godmother declared themselves unable to sign or write———? obeying the ordinance they made their ordinary mark which is a cross.

Mark of
X
Marie.

Mark of
X
Demar.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

1744.

L an mil sept cent quarantes quatres le huit d'Octobre, Je, sousigne, J. Gagnon, prestre missionnaire de la paroisse de Ste. Anne, ay baptise un enfant, ne de la ville, du legitime mariage de M. Alexandre du Claud, officier des troupes, et de Dame Elisabeth Philyppe. Les pere et mere on lui a donne le nom de Marie Joseph. Le parrain a ete le Sieur Jean Baptiste Martigny de la paroisse Vowenne in Canadas, la mareine Dame Janne Boulogne, femme de M. Louvier, demeurant en cette paroisse. Le parrain et mareine ont signer avec moy de ce aupres (?), suivant l'ordonance.

Jean Batiste Martigny. Duclos. J. Boulogne de Louvier.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil sept cent quarante quatre, le 7 Dbre, est decedee dans cette parois une exclave rouge, appartenant a Augustin Longlois, age dans virons 16 ans. Son corps a ete inhume le lendemain dans le cimetier de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere, la Ste. Eglise. En foy de quoy Jay signe.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

L'an mil sept cent quarante quatre est decede dans cette paroisse, Antoine Pli, dit La Plume, age dans viront, soyesant ans natifs du village Ville Eveschés de M. Homer. Son corps a ete inhume le lendermain dans le cimetier de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere, la Ste. Eglise, en presance de Sieurs Hennet, Dubois, Deneau, qui out signes avec moy de ce interpelle.

Dubois. Hennet. J. Gagnon, Prestre.

1745.

L'an mil sept cent quarante cinq: le cinq de Janvier, est decede a dix heurs, du Sir Denis Baron, agee dans viron vingt ans. Il est mort apres avoir ete confesse plussieur fois et apres avoir recu le Ste. viatique et le sacrament de l'extreme onction. Son corps a ete inhume le lendemain dans le cimetier de cette paroisse, avec les ceremonies prescrittes par nostre mere, la Ste. Eglise, en presance de Hanrion, de Hennet Sonschagrin, qui ont signe avec moy de ce aupres (?) suivant l'ordonance.

J. Gagnon, Prestre.

1744.

In the year 1744, on the 8th of October, I, the undersigned, J. Gagnon, a missionary priest of St. Ann's parish, baptized an infant, born in the village (?) of the legitimate marriage of M. Alexander Du Claud, officer of the troops, and the Dame Elizabeth Philyppe. Its father and mother named it Marie Joseph. The godfather was Sir John Baptist Martigny of the parish ———(?) in Canada, the godmother Dame Jane Boulogne, wife of M. Louvier, living in this parish. The godfather and godmother signed with me ———(?) obeying the ordinance.

John Baptist Martigny. Duclos. J. Boulogne de Louvier.

J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744, on the 7th of December, a red slave died in this parish, belonging to August Longlois, aged about 16 years. The body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, Holy Church. In witness whereof I have signed. J. GAGNON, Priest.

In the year 1744, Anthony Pli, called La Plume, died in this parish, aged about sixty years, a native of the village Ville, diocese of ———(?) His body was buried the following day in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, Holy Church, in presence of Sirs Hennet, Dubois, Deneau, who signed with me upon this request.

Dubois. Hennet. J. GAGNON, Priest.

1745.

In the year 1745, on the 5th of January, Denis Baron died at 6 o'clock in the evening, aged about twenty years. He died after having confessed many times, and after having received the holy viaticum and the sacrament of extreme unction. His body was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this parish, with the ceremonies prescribed by our mother, Holy Church, in presence of Hanrion, of Hennet Sonschagrin, who signed with me ———(?), following the ordinance.

(Signatures neglected.) J. GAGNON, Priest.

TRAVELS IN ILLINOIS IN 1819.

Ferdinand Ernst.

[The following pages are taken from a small book, printed in the German language, now in the public library of Belleville, Ill., entitled, "Observations Made Upon a Journey Through the Interior of the United States of North America in the Year 1819, by Ferdinand Ernst." It was published at Hildesheim, in Hanover, in 1823, and is now translated into English in 1903, for the first time in this country, for the Illinois State Historical Library, by Prof. E. P. Baker of McKendree College. The extracts here presented embody the observations of the traveler in the State of Illinois and vicinity of St. Louis in Missouri. The trustees of the State Historical Library contemplate publishing the entire work in the near future. J. F. S.]

Toward noon of the 29th of July, (1819), I came upon the so-called English meadow where the Englishmen, Birkbeck and Flower, have been established for three years These men who have selected a region not remarkable for its fruitfulness and appear to show, on the other hand, but little industry in the cultivation of the land, have, nevertheless, already attracted to themselves such a colony of people that a little town, New Albion, is being built, and in spite of the very unfavorable local circumstances this region will soon be well populated.

Birkbeck's "Notes on a Journey in America, Etc.," I have at all times found to be in conformity with the truth, but his "Letters from Illinois," the accounts asserted will appear to every unprejudiced farmer not sufficiently well founded, to say nothing of a man who investigated and tested the matter on the spot for an economic purpose and found in the broad meadow lands not a single acre either of Indian corn (maize) especially necessary in the first year of culture, nor of wheat; but many hundreds of these are introduced into the accounts. Likewise there has come to my notice not a single fruit farm so essential from an economic standpoint, and in this climate so wholesome; yet the peach begins to bear fruit in the third year and can therefore be cultivated quickly and easily.

It was not possible to go from here directly across the Little Wabash to Kaskaskia. Therefore I saw myself obliged to continue my wanderings southward to the confluence of the great and Little Wabash whither a very fine road leads toward Carmi. This city lies upon the Little Wabash about 30 English miles above its union with the great Wabash. It conducts rather lively trade in wares which, on account of the shorter and very fine road, arrive here for the most part by land from Shawneetown.

Before one reaches Carmi the road leads through several very well cultivated farms where the eye is delighted by luxuriant fields of maize. Here is the strip where, in the year 1813, a fearful hurricane produced terrible devastation. The road leads through a forest in which all trees have, from seven to ten feet above the ground, been

twisted like willows, and their tops often cast to the ground in the opposite direction. Upon the Ohio this hurricane picked up a boat and threw it on land far from the bank. It traversed almost the entire continent of America, in width about one English mile and in direction from west to east.

Not far from Carmi the road leads into a meadowy expanse (Big Prairie) in which, on account of its great fertility, a considerable number of settlers have already located.

Many of these so-called prairies are found in the State of Illinois, and one could probably assume that they amount to a half of the entire area. According to the nature of their fertility they are covered with tall or short grasses and shrubs and, indeed, no more inviting thing can be imagined for a stranger than to settle here and to live and move in this abundance of nature. He needs to do nothing more than to put the plow once into these grassy plains, which are for the most part quite level, and his fields are splendid with the richest fruits and the most abundant harvests. How much easier is here the beginning of a planter than in the dense forest on the Ohio! In proof of this I venture to bring forward the fact that of all lands which till now have been offered for sale in the State of Illinois not a spot remains unsold where good water and timber are found together in fertile plains. But, alas, the good water is all too scarce in the southern part. The rivers have here no strong current, which circumstance, along with many others, produces each year many fevers; but one finds that this evil decreases in the same degree in which the land is brought under more extensive cultivation. A number of these evils as flies, mosquitoes, etc., likewise dissappear with increased cultivation.

The flies become exceedingly troublesome to the traveler on horse in the great plains during the summer months of July, August and September; yes, it is even asserted that these insects in very hot weather are able to kill a horse in a short time. There are two kinds of these flies; the little green ones and the large horse fly. The first are the size of a common fly, the second often as large as a hornet. Since they almost always attack the head, neck and breast of the horse, a covering of canvas suffices to protect these parts. If one, in addition to this, uses the precaution of traveling, for the most part, before sunrise and after sunset then this nuisance is of but slight significance.

What the flies are to the horses, the mosquitoes are to man. The mosquito is probably nothing more than the European gnat; at least I have found no differene between the mosquitoes in the States north of the Ohio and our gnat. Their bite is by no means more painful; their size, form and the fact that they make their appearance only in wet places and in the night time; all these things they have in common with the gnat. They are found in large numbers upon the low lands of the rivers and in uncultivated swampy regions. Everything that I have ever heard or read, be it good or bad, concerning these insects as well as everything concerning America is, for the most part, somewhat exaggerated.

Upon the other side of the Little Wabash one finds much forest and fewer settlements. The nearer one comes, however, to Kaskaskia the more the grass lands with alternating forests increase, which often form the most lovely views. If there were not too great lack of water here then these regions could be considered among the most beautiful and pleasing.

On the other bank of the Kaskaskia (Okaw), a very important river here, lies the town Kaskaskia where at present the seat of the State government is located. It was founded more than 50 years ago by the French Canadians and is nevertheless not very important; it appears, likewise, not to have a very healthy location, since it lies in the valley of the Mississippi (American bottoms) which is recognized as very unhealthful in every part. Yet, this evil which proceeds from the overflowing of the Mississippi and from the damp ground improves gradually with time. It has been observed that from year to year this valley dries out more, and at present, is very seldom overflowed by the river, and that only in the lower parts. Kaskaskia has not been inundated for 30 years. In the Catholic church at that place I found a rather large congregation assembled. The young, well dressed minister edified us in the French language with such rare eloquence and such an excellent pronunciation that I was greatly surprised because it was quite unexpected to me.

After dinner I had the honor of being invited to tea at the home of Governor Bond where I, for the first time in the new world, found myself in a company of distinguished ladies. On the whole I was shown great attention and agreeable kindness. That which stands the stranger in good stead—who is usually too little acquainted with the language of the land and its customs—is the banishment from higher and lower society of all so-called etiquette and unnecessary compliments. The American never greets one by taking off the hat, but by a cordial grasp of the hand. One steps up to the most distinguished persons with covered head. He is urged little, or not at all, to eat and drink according to the measure of his appetite. Nevertheless in all companies the greatest order and decorum prevails, and great respect and attention is shown the ladies present.

As, in a free state, the distinction of classes does not come into consideration, so is this also the case here between the Governor and his guests.

From here I took a walk to the Mississippi, 1½ English miles distant. This powerful stream, which collects all the waters of the great interior of North America in its monstrous bed, was at that time very low; nevertheless its swiftly flowing waters inspired astonishment in me. Its water is turbid and the beauty of the stream is greatly dimished by the many tree trunks projecting here and there in its bed. By high water the stream tears these trees out of its banks and leaves them resting upon shallow places until a higher flood carries them farther. Nevertheless it often happens that the trunk with its roots weighed down with earth, sinking down to the bottom of the river, remains lodged there sticking in the mud; then

the trunks having become lighter through the loss of their branches rise and project out of the water like posts driven in. A short time ago they had an example of the dangerous effects of such a tree, pointed through the breaking off of its top, when a steamboat received one in its side and sank in a short time.

In order to avoid this danger they are now beginning to provide steamboats with a double bottom, so that when the first is penetrated the second will furnish the desired security. Those tree trunks, dangerous to navigation, the Americans call logs, or snags.

All towns founded by the French have usually a common pasturing place, as well as several other pieces of ground held in common Upon this common pasture before Kaskaskia I saw for the first time in America that beautiful green grass plot which Europe produces so perfectly in so many varieties, delighting the eye, and the existence of which, as is well known, is due simply to the teeth of the cattle pasturing upon it.

EDWARDSVILLE, July 30, 1820.

At Kaskaskia begin the so-called American bottoms which form the valley of the Mississippi. Immediately above Kaskaskia the valley stretches out seven miles, as far as the village of Prairie du Rocher, and is shut in upon the east by steep rocky walls from which frequently the finest springs gush forth. The river is fringed completely with forests, then up to the foot of the rocks extends level grassy plains the fruitfulness of which exceeds anything which one can imagine.

Here I saw fields of maize in which grain had been grown for 30 years and that, too, without any fertilizer. They left nothing to be desired for the stalks grow luxuriantly to the height of 15 feet. This soil consists of very rich black slime mingled with sand which is at times dun colored and, on account of the superfluity of humus, very light. The hills above the steep rocks are adorned, in part, by forest, in part by beautiful green sward. The valley hereby receives a very pleasing setting as that, on the whole, it produces one of the most charming regions of the State of Illinois.

Above Prairie du Rocher the steep overhanging rocky walls lose themselves in the high hills Here I saw the beginning of the destruction which the above mentioned tornado produced, and how it had taken its way, by Harrisonville, over the Mississippi. But its strength appeared not to have been so destructive as on the Wabash.

On the 27th of July I crossed the Mississippi to St. Louis, a city situated upon the right bank of the river on elevated ground the substratum of which consists of rock. In these rocks (limestone) are found most remarkable impressions—for example, perfect impressions of feet, hands, bows and arrows of the Indians—so that one is inclined to believe this stone was in earlier times such a soft mass that it could receive such impressions, whereupon then these hard masses of stone have been formed by nature and time. There

is such a stone at (New) Harmony which the colonists of that place, at great cost, caused to be transported thither, 180 English miles, on account of its strangeness.*

A fine spring which gushed from the rocky bank, together with the elevated region free from forest, was presumably the inducement for the first settling of the city of St. Louis. Its founding falls within the period in which Philadelphia was established. Only since the mouth of the Mississippi and the surrounding region came into possession of the United States has St. Louis entered upon a period of prosperity. Therefore one cannot reproach this important place with its relatively advanced age. At present the city is expanding upon the heights of the river bank outside the district at present occupied, and this part will soon excel in beauty the older part which was a failure in the very outset. One finds here various quite handsome buildings, and the inhabitants are employed on every hand in the construction of new houses; hence, the many saw-mills in the vicinity among which is one driven by steam.

St. Louis is situated in 38° 39′ north latitude, and may easily have 4,000 inhabitants. The surrounding region inland is meadow land which is, however, not so fertile as are usually the lands in the State of Illinois. This city is the seat of the territorial government of the Missouri territory. The motion to be advanced to a state and to have its own constitution met with difficulties in Congress, since Congress wished to impose the condition that slavery should be abolished in the state of Missouri. Now one finds most every day in the newspapers paragraphs concerning this subject, the majority of which are almost always zealously opposed to the introduction of slavery in the state of Missouri. Everywhere much is being written now concerning the possibility of getting rid of slavery as an acknowledged evil in the entire compass of the free states, so that people in general actually entertain the hope of seeing even the southern states soon freed from this plague.†

The left bank of the river is quite liable to cave and wash, while upon the right bank are stones and rock which ward off these effects of the swift current. This washing away of the bank often amounts to 10 or 12 feet in a year, so that not seldom whole plantations are lost thereby. Two small towns, Illinoistown and Jacksonville, which are located opposite St. Louis, run the risk of finding their grave in the Mississippi in the course of time,

In general, one may assume that all river banks in America are unhealthy places of abode, and especially the banks of the larger rivers. This year the ague is found in St. Louis more frequently than is usual. They attribute this to the great heat of this summer, because all kinds of fevers appear more frequently this year.

* Those "impressions" on the limestone ledge overlooking the river, described by the author, it has long been known, were representations of objects carved there by the Indians. They have been observed in similar outcrops of rocks along streams in several localities in Illinois, as elsewhere in the Mississippi valley. In a few instances they bear evidences of totemic significance; and some may have been records of important events; but the greater number were only evidences of idle fancy.—J. F. S.

†The Missouri bill passed the House of Representatives on the 1st of March, 1820. After much debate concerning slavery in that territory.

When I had returned across the Mississippi and found myself again in the State of Illinois, I turned up stream to travel through this valley as far as the mouth of the Missouri.

A few miles from Illinois City I found the mill of Mr. Jarrott, a Frenchman, which has in its construction the peculiar feature that the water wheels run while lying in the water, and turn the shaft which projects upward from them. It is said that through this discovery the movement of these wheels is not hindered even in the case of from 7 to 10 feet of backwater.

Several small towns are found located in this valley, which, however, are not especially prosperous, and, too, on account of the unhealthy location. For example, St. Marie, just opposite the mouth of the Missouri, has, indeed, four or five houses, but without a single occupant. It is greatly to be regretted that this region, so fruitful and so admirably located for trade, is so unhealthy. But every year the ground, here and there swampy, is becoming firmer and drier, and one may yield to the hope that even here time will remedy this evil.

In another town, by the name of Gibraltar, three miles farther up, I found a good many inhabitants, and they were employed in building.

From Gibraltar I took the road to Edwardsville. One finds between here and the bluffs some large farms, and, what was still more agreeable to me, everybody was in good health.

Towards evening of the 27th of July I reached Edwardsville, a pretty town about six or seven miles from the bluffs of the Mississippi and 25 miles from St. Louis. This fertile region is covered with fine farms, where one has opportunity of admiring the astonishing productiveness of the soil. I found the maize from 12 to 15 feet high on an average. The gardens which have sufficient age for fruit settings are luxuriant with peach trees and other fruit trees. The peach is a kind of fruit which flourishes admirably here; the seedling producing fruit in four years, and, almost without exception, bears every year afterward so full that its branches have to be propped. Peach brandy and dried peaches are very common here.

On the other hand I have seldom in all America found the plum tree except in (New) Harmony; but there are apples in great quantities, excellent in all old orchards, and I have met with many fine varieties among them. Moreover the gardens produce melons, especially watermelons, in great quantity and of unusual size—the latter are regarded as a more healthful food than the others. That all other kinds of garden fruits will thrive here may be supposed from what has been said. The pumpkin at times reaches the gigantic size of 3 feet in diameter. Brown and red cabbage I have found nowhere in America, and the ground seems to be too rich for potatoes and many other growths. Potatoes, for example, cannot be planted until very late, often not until July; early planted ones almost never thrive. Maize wheat and oats grow excellently, barley and rye I have not found.

Here, in Edwardsville, I met again my traveling companion, Mr. Hollmann, and it may not be disagreeable to the reader to receive some report of his journey. I shall therefore give here a brief extract from his diary.

"On the 11th of July, (1819) I, in company with ten travelers on horse, crossed the Wabash and entered the State of Illinois. If the traveler from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean to this point has grown weary of the endless journey in the forests then he believes himself transferred to another region of the world as soon as he crosses the Wabash and beholds those great prairies alternating with little wooded districts. Yet, this is one of the largest prairies and, on account of the scarcity of wood, not very well adapted to cultivation.

"After a journey of 22 miles through these prairies were ached the tavern; it was full of travelers. Nevertheless each one was served well enough, the horses were well cared for, and only with respect to the lodgings was the comfort not great. Each one had to prepare his own bed upon the floor as well as he could, and even here the American shows a peculiar ease which is the result of his noble freedom. Everything is done without ado and without ceremony. This manner of living, which was to me at first very strange and disagreeable, soon received my entire approval—little by little one feels himself free among free, honest people. The character of the Americans, which at first was so little agreeable to me, is, nevertheless, on the whole, good. This opinion may be due to the fact that my living with them has, little by little, changed my judgment, or that the people themselves here are better than in the eastern states.

"The road leads through prairies where one all day long sees no house, no, not even a tree, so that protected from the burning heat of the sun, one could rest in its shade. In the middle of this prairie, 24 miles wide, an axle of my wagon broke, whereby I got into no small difficulty. My mounted traveling companions could not help me and had to leave me; but two pedestrians, who had made the journey afoot from Baltimore in this manner, proved friends in need. They went back three miles to get a tree trunk which we had seen lying there by the road. With great difficulty we then took the wagon to the next house. These honest Americans repaid me evil with good. They had been in our company for some time, and at the crossing of the river I did not wish to permit them to take a place in my wagon.

"When we arrived at the next tavern the remaining traveling companions had already sent for a wheelwright, and thus through the kind aid of my comrades it was possible for me to continue the journey with them on the next morning. Toward noon the heat became oppressive and the flies so intolerable that we resolved to make a halt. Not until towards 6:00 o'clock did we continue our journey. Traveling at night time in these prairies is very much to be preferred. One can, without the aid of the moon, find the beautiful level road, and the horses are not tormented by either heat or flies.

"The landlord at the next tavern received us with the remark that tavern keeping was only a secondary matter with him, and he requested of his guests that they accommodate themselves to his wishes, and whoever would not consent to this might travel on. The company of travelers regarded the words of the landlord as very strange, but resolved to put up here as the next tavern was quite a distance off, and men and horses were very tired. After supper the landlord with his family began to pray and sing so that the ears of us tired travelers tingled. Many of the travelers would have gladly requested them to desist from this entertainment if the landlord had not taken the above precautions upon our entrance. After prayers the landlord related to me that he had often been disturbed in his religious exercises, and even been shamefully ridiculed by travelers; he therefore had been obliged to make that condition upon the reception of guests. He was a Quaker.

"On the 23d of July I entered Edwardsville. The most remarkable curiosity which met me here was the camp of the Kickapoo Indians who were now sojourning here in order to conclude a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of the United States, whereby they renounced all their rights and claims to the lands on the Sangamon, Onaquispasippi, and in the entire State of Illinois; ceding the same to Congress, and to immediately vacate the State of Illinois. Their color is reddish-brown; their face irregular, often horribly colored with bright red paint; their hair is cut to a tuft upon the crown of the head and painted various colors. Very few are clothed, in summer a woolen covering, in winter a buffalo skin, is their only covering. They seem to be very fond of adornments, as of silver rings about the neck and arms. They likewise carry a shield before the breast."

VANDALIA, Sept. 10, 1819.

Immediately after I had joined my traveling companion, Mr. Hollmann, in Edwardsville, we visited our countryman, named Barensbach, whose farm was about four miles from the village, to ask him to show us the lands which are to be sold at public auction, at the land office in Edwardsville, on the first of August this year. He granted our request not only with the greatest readiness, but to this excellent man we owe for many other courtesies and much information. His experience and his advice we have found at all times very helpful. So greatly is he respected in this entire region that we have almost never heard his name mentioned by the inhabitants without its being accompanied by great praise. In spite of his disinclination for every public service they have called him to the important office of judge.

The 24 townships which are to be sold lie between this place and Edwardsville on Shoal creek and Sugar creek and Silver creek. There are many good lands among them, and we would certainly have purchased land at this auction if it had been possible to get anything really as good in the vicinity of the town of Vandalia, that is now about to be laid out.

According to the Constitution of the State of Illinois this town is to be the seat of the government of the State, and the lots will be publicly sold on the 6th of September of this year. In the vicinity of this town is a large amount of fine lands; but everyone is full of praise for those which lie about 60 to 80 miles northward upon the river Sangamon. The Indians have concluded their treaty with Congress, and the latter is now in full possesion of these so highly prized regions. In consideration of all this we regarded it more advisable to wait, and resolved for the present to settle in the town, Vandalia, and then from here purchase land in time. In order to use the interval to as good advantage as possible, we began to build a little house here from logs, after the manner of the Americans—the logs are laid one upon another, the ends let down into grooves. As soon as the building was far enough advanced so that my companion was able to finish it alone, I started upon a journey to view the wonderful land upon the Sangamon before I returned to Europe. On the 27th of August I, accompanied by a guide, set out upon this little journey. We were both mounted, and had filled our portmanteaus as bountifully as possible with food for man and horse, because upon such a journey in those regions, one can not count upon much. A fine, well-traveled road leads thither from Edwardsville. In order to reach this we rode out from Vandalia across Shoal creek, and then northward into the prairie. We left the forests about the sources of Sugar and Silver creeks to the south, and in the vicinity of the groves about the sources of the Macoupin we came upon this road. We now touched upon points of timber on some branches of this river, and then came into that great prairie which extends from the Illinois river through the greater part of the State from west to east and disappears about the source of the Okaw (Kaskaskia) and upon the banks of the Wabash. This great prairie is the dividing line of the waters flowing southward to the Mississippi and northward to the Sangamon; but is, however, of no considerable height (elevation). East of the road are some lakes or swamps from which the two branches of Shoal creek receive their first water. The entire region south of this prairie elevation is especially distinguished by the elevation of the prairie and by the smoothness and fertility of the land; however, no spring or river water is to be found anywhere in it. In general the few springs which may possibly be there occur only in the bordering timber. The banks of the rivers are very high and hilly, upon these alone are found the patches of forest. All rivers here have but little fall and form many stagnant bodies of water, while in dry seasons the rivers dry up almost completely, and thereby are produced those vapors which make the air unhealthy.

As soon as one arrives upon the elevation and northern side of this prairie the grass of the prairie changes and the ground becomes visibly better. The river banks decline in a gentle slope from the prairie to the water, and are likwise covered with woods, which also shows the greater fertility of the soil. We find here in the State of Illinois almost the same variety of woods that are found in Ohio; and I found, in addi-

tion to the soft maple, the sugar tree which, in its leaves differs but little from it. The inhabitants regard the latter as far better for the production of sugar.

On Sugar creek, where we passed the second night, we found, right at the point of the timber, a family who had not yet finished their log cabin. Half a mile farther three families had settled near an excellent spring, and here we passed the night. Upon this little stream, which about 15 miles to the north of its source empties into the Sangamon, about 60 farms have already been laid out and indeed all since this spring of 1819 They have only broken up the sod of the prairie with the plow and planted their corn, and now one sees these splendid fields covered almost without exception with corn from ten to 15 feet high. It is no wonder that such a high degree of fruitfulness attracts men to bid defiance to the various dangers and inconveniences that might, up to this time, present themselves to such a settlement. And one can therefore predict that possibly no region in all this broad America will be so quickly populated as this. Nevertheless, one must regard as venturesome daredevils all settlers who this early have located here for they trespassed upon the possessions of the Indians, and ran the risk of being driven out, or killed during the great annual hunt of the Indians,* if that treaty at Edwardsville had not fortunately been made. But now how many will migrate hither since everything is quiet and safe here! Let us consider these present farmers in respect to their property right upon these their plantations. How extremely dangerous is their position in this regard! The land is not even surveyed, and therefore cannot be offered for sale for three or four years. And then, when offered for sale, anyone is at liberty to outbid the present settler for his farm which is already in cultivation. If now all these considerations and actual dangers could not restrain men from migrating to this territory, this then is the most convincing proof of its value and that it is justly styled "the beautiful land on the Sangamon."

From Sugar creek we turned immediately westward with the intention of reaching the point where the Sangamon empties into the Illinois, and there crossing the former to the north bank. We crossed Lake creek, then the two branches of Spring creek, both of which flow in the open prairie—a thing which I had never before seen here in America. On the other side of Spring creek is a camping ground of the Indians, whence the prairie rises to gentle hills where we found two fine springs shaded simply by a few trees. The water of these brooks flows swift and clear through the luxuriant prairie,

*Every autumn the Indians within the entire circuit of their possessions hold a grand hunt. They then set fire to the dry grass of the prairie, and the flame with incredible rapidity spreads over all the country. Before it all wild game flees, having been frightened from their safe retreats, and fall victim to the fatal shot of the red hunters. This destructive custom of burning off the prairies is the reason that timber is confined to the banks of streams and a few other places The heat of the fire not only prevents entirely further extension of the forests but even diminishes their area. Upon these annual hunts the Indians forcibly eject all white settlers from their territory.

the high grass of which often reaches above the head of the horseman. From these two little brooks rises a plain which extends to Richland creek.

Here we passed the night at the home of farmer Schaffer, who was just then employed in breaking up more prairie. It was a pleasure to me to see that this first plowing produced arable ground like the best clover field. I advised him to plant at least a small part to wheat, which from appearances must undoubtedly be the best and most suitable grain for this soil. He, however, asserted that maize planted upon it the next spring would be more profitable. Nevertheless, he promised to make a trial with wheat; but he had already intended this year's corn field for the wheat. Maize, turnips and melons were the products which he expected this year upon the first breaking up of the prairie.

That this region leaves nothing to be desired with respect to health was sufficiently demonstrated to me by the healthy appearance of its inhabitants.

Further on in the prairie we again found some springs, and continuing westward, about noon reached another small river * upon which we found three or four farms. The timber on this river bank consisted almost exclusively of sugar trees, and gave those people the most promising prospect of a harvest of sugar the coming spring. From all reports which we gathered it appeared to us that no one upon the bank of the Illinois river had ever been to the mouth of the Sangamon; prevented from doing so by the difficulty of penetrating the intervening woods and underbrush; but they estimated the distance at about 25 or 30 miles.

Since the heat was oppressive and the flies unendurable we were obliged to give up further progress to the Illinois river, we therefore turned again to the Sangamon, and toward noon reached its forests. Here, also, we found three farms, but we could not pass the river as it was very high. This river (the Sangamon) is rather large, and must be navigable the greater part of the year for medium sized vessels. It differs very advantageously from all the other rivers of western America in that its clear water even in this dry time mainains a moderate height, and it is uncommonly well stocked with fish.

We were now obliged to proceed farther up the river, and between the mouths of Sugar and Spring creeks we found a crossing where there was a canoe in which we crossed and let the horses swim alongside. The bank of the river is here about 50 feet high, measured from the surface of the Sangamon, where a broad plain is formed—a grand spot for the founding of a city. Below, upon the river bank, I found a very good clay for pottery and tile work. As soon as we had left the timber of the Sangamon, upon the other bank we came into another large prairie where a not insignificant hill covered with timber attracted our attention. It was the Elkhart (Grove.) This

* Richland creek, in Cartwright township, in the northwestern part of Sangamon county.—J. F. S.

place is renowned on account of its agreeable and advantageous situation. A not too steep hill about two miles in circuit provided with two excellent springs, is the only piece of timbered land in a prairie from six to eight miles broad. Its forest trees show the great fertility of the soil.

I found on it sugar trees from 3 to 4 feet in diameter, and the farmer settled here, Mr. Latham, had 30 acres enclosed by the wood of the blue ash. This hill is lost toward the Sangamon, as well as northward toward the Onaquispasippi in alternating hills without forest, which, to me, judging from the kinds of which grass they bore, seemed very well adapted to sheep grazing or vineyards. Eastward, at the foot of the hill, is a level, rich prairie. Here Mr. Latham had planted 30 acres of corn this spring which thrived beyond all expectation. From this soil I took a small sample which seems to consist of loam and an insignificant admixture of sand. In the surrounding prairie the two springs reappear which were lost in the ground at the edge of the forest.

Towards the south there are several springs in the prairie, some of which form little waterfalls often three or four feet high. All these circumstances make the Elkhart not only a beautiful, but—from an agricultural point of view—a very valuable possession. For whoever owns the woodlands of the Elkhart controls at the same time the greater part of the large and rich prairie surrounding it, where, on account of the scarcity of wood, it would be difficult to establish a farm. This farm is, up to the present time, the one situated fartherest north in the whole State of Illinois—except, perhaps, in the military lands on the other side of the Illinois river. However, it will not remain so much longer, since 15 miles farther, where formerly stood the Kickapoo Indian capital, some corn fields have been laid out, and a farm will be established there towards spring.

We countinued our journey northward and soon reached the charming banks of the Onaquispasippi.* (Satz) Alas! this river was likewise too high to be crossed on horseback. Here a rather passable road runs northward to Fort Clair, (Clark) on Lake Peoria. The soil northward on (of) the Sangamon has far more sand in it than in the remaining part of the State; and the only thing that might be feared would be that, on that account, its exceptional fertility in time might decrease. But this point of time is certainly very far off. The Onaquispasippi is still a more beautiful river than the Sangamon, for it has all the characteristics of the latter but in a higher degree. It is likewise navigable for medium sized vessels.

In this prairie I found many rattlesnakes; but all small, of gray color, and of one species. During my entire journey I have heard of no fatality produced by their bite. Unable to get across the river we were obliged to forego examination of the locality of Kickapoo town, and we started on our return journey. We had, however, seen enough to be able to assert that this region is one of the most important in the State of Illinois; or rather, will become such in a

* Salt creek in Logan county.—J. F. S.

short time. One of the greatest obstacles that may retard the rapid population of this district is the scarcity of wood; yet, there is sufficient timber for a moderate population, and the stock of forest will soon greatly increase now that the destructive prairie fires will be stopped. Likewise the rivers Sangamon and Onaquispasippi can greatly facilitate the importation of this article. These two rivers will not only open up a market for all produce in the direction of St. Louis and New Orleans, but their proximity to the Illinois river will in time furnish this region with another very promising prospect by the lakes to New York City by means of the canal now in progress connecting that city and Lake Erie.

It is, also, a very easy thing to unite the Illinois with Lake Michigan by a 12-mile canal--even now, in the case of high water, the transit there is now made. By means of this canal then, inland navigation would be opened up from New York to New Orleans, a distance of 3,000 English miles Such an internal waterway not only does not exist at the present time in the whole world, but, it will never exist anywhere else. Besides, this State enjoys the navigation of its boundary and internal rivers amounting to 3,094 miles, and all are placed in communication with each other through the Mississippi. In short, I do not believe that any one State in all America is so highly favored by nature, in every respect, as the State of Illinois.

The entire length of the Sangamon is still unknown; yet we know that it is navigable for at least 300 miles from its union with the Illinois. About 60 miles from its mouth it separates into two arms, of which the southern one bears the name Mooqua, which, in the language of the Kickapoo Indians signifies "wolf's face." This arm is up to the present time the best known, and its borders are already rather well occupied with farms. Above the source of the Sangamon is found a rock 50 feet high which has a fissure in its middle. In this fissure the Indians placed tobacco, maize, honey and other products of the land as a thanks offering to the Great Spirit.

The Indians, for the most part, cultivate some maize, and are great reverers of this useful grain. As soon as the first ripe ears of maize are brought to the chief he institutes a grand feast where music and dance delight the company, and where the pipe of peace is industriously smoked. The benefits of the maize to the white settlers are manifold. As soon as the ears have attained some maturity it furnishes a good healthy food. The ears are either boiled in water, or roasted by the fire. From its meal, bread is prepared, and they make a porridge from it which with milk is an excellent dish. Besides this it is fed to all cattle, especially horses and pigs. Even its dry stalks are carefully preserved in stacks to serve as fodder for horses and cattle during the winter. * * *

After an extremely tiresome day's journey we reached, about 11:00 o'clock at night the first farms on Shoal creek where we spent the night. Here the ague was raging, especially among those who had come here this year from the eastern states. This sickness is owing very much to the manner of life of these people; for they live in part

upon dried venison, water melons, etc., and often expose themselves to wet weather. Such a manner of life must of necessity produce sickness. The wholesome effect of quinine is striking in the treatment of these fevers. I had brought a quantity of it with me from Baltimore, and this remedy very soon helped everyone to whom I administered it.

On the 5th of September I arrived at Vandalia. This place, in accordance with the Constitution, is to become the seat of government of the new State. It is 50 miles from Edwardsville, and about 60 from the Wabash; so that it is located about in the middle of the State. Its situation is well chosen, upon a bank of the Kaskaskia, 50 feet high, and richly provided with wood for building, and with good spring water, as well as with a vicinage of excellent land. The river, which is navigable to this point, here describes a sharp curve which amounts very nearly to a right-angle, coming from the east and going to the south.

The plan of the town is a square subdivided into 64 squares, and the space of two of these squares in the middle is intended for public use. Every square, having eight building lots, contains 320 square rods; each building lot is 80 feet wide 152 feet deep. Each square is cut from south to north by a 16-foot alley; and the large, regular and straight streets, 80 feet wide, intersect each other at right-angles.

Only four weeks ago the Commissioners advertised the sale of these lots (it will take place tomorrow), and there is already considerable activity manifested. Charles Reavise and I were the first who began to build. How difficult it was at that time to penetrate the dense forest which embraces the entire circuit of the future city. At present there are several passable roads leading hither. Now the most active preparations are being made for the construction of houses, and we are daily visited by travelers. But how it will have changed in 10 or 20 years! All these huge forests will have then disappeared and a flourishing city with fine buildings will stand in their place. A free people will then from this place rule itself through its representatives and watch over their freedom and well-being.

St. Louis, on the Mississippi, Sept. 26, 1819.

When the lots in Vandalia were sold I purchased four of them, and after I had made the necessary arrangements for completion of my house, I set about preparing for my return to Europe. When I arrived in St. Louis the steamboat "Harris" had been gone several days, and another was not expected for eight days yet. To avoid passing the time uselessly here, I took a seat upon the post-chaise to St. Charles on the north bank of the Missouri river. * * * I here (Portage des Sioux) entered a canoe in which a Frenchman took me up the Mississippi. The further banks of that river, in the State of Illinois, consist of rocky walls in which are found some large caves, two of which I visited. We reached the Illinois river

towards evening and ascended it about three miles, where we passed the night with a Frenchman who lived upon the military land on the right bank of the river.

There is certainly no river in North America better adapted for navigation up stream than the Illinois. Its quiet water has everywhere sufficient depth and is clear of snags which make the Missouri and Mississippi so dangerous. From its mouth up stream the Illinois receives the following rivers: From the east (1) the Fouche, (2) the Marais, (3) the Macoupin (navigable nine miles), (4) Negro, (5) the Sangamon (navigable 250 miles), (6) the Mackinaw (navigable 90 miles). Nineteen miles above this last river the Illinois forms Lake Peoria, 20 miles long and one and one-half miles wide except in the middle where the banks approach each other within a quarter of a mile. This lake is deep, its water clear, and it has an abundance of fine fish. Above this lake the Illinois receives (7) the Vermilion, (8) the Manon, (9) the Fox (or Du Page), (10) the Riviere des Plaines, and (11) the Kankakee.

In the level prairie where the Kankakee rises is a little lake about five miles long and 40 paces broad whereby the Kankakee is united with the Chicago river, which is really a bay of Lake Michigan. From this lake it separates into two arms, of which the southermost empties into Lake Michigan six miles from its separation, the northernmost joins the lake 30 miles farther west, and on the way takes up some small streams. This union of the lakes with the Illinois through the little lake or canal at the source of the Des Plaines appears to have been made by the French and Indians in order to get into the Illinois river with their boats during high water. With very slight trouble this passage could be established for larger vessels. The Indians and French have to carry their boats only 12 miles during the dryest time, and just on that account this distance is called a portage.

On the west the Illinois receives (1) the McKees creek, (2) Crooked creek, (3) Spoon river, and the Kickapoo. These rivers are of no particular significance, and all rise in the military lands. This land embraces the entire region between the Illinois and the Mississippi from 38° 47′ to 41° 47′ north latitude. It is said to contain close to 15,500,000 acres.

On the following day I returned to the Mississippi and Portage des Sioux.

The Missouri river may possibly at some time become the channel through which the Americans will carry on their commerce in the Pacific ocean towards China. There is already much talk about the government putting in shape the not very long road between the sources of the Missouri over the White mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia which empties into the Pacific ocean. Even this year the government has sent a military detachment in two steamboats up the Missouri to establish military posts there for the security of nav-

igation. In any event this road to the Pacific will be the shortest and, in the future, the safest and most passable. What flourishing cities St. Louis and New Orleans will become!

The hazel nuts were ripe here, and bear with astonishing abundance. They mature here about a month later than in Germany. The pawpaw is also now ripe and is found here especially frequent. This fruit resembles a large kidney potato, very delicious and healthful, often grows like a bunch of grapes upon the ends of the branches. Before maturity it is green in color, and as it ripens changes to a greenish yellow. As we were crossing the Missouri we often saw mud turtles sunning themselves on logs, but dropped into the water as soon as they perceived anyone.

Opposite the ferry lies Jamestown, a place in which, however, only two or three houses have yet been erected. What is commonly related about the extremely healthy climate of the Missouri I found to be by no means confirmed, for upon the banks of that river I found the ague as prevalent as on other rivers. * * * * * * * *

On the next morning I, with my hospitable host, went to St. Louis in a pirogue. To my great disappointment I there learned that the steamboat had arrived but would not at present proceed to New Orleans. To hasten my return as much as possible I purchased a skiff, and in company with a Pennsylvanian, started down the Mississippi from St Louis on the 27th of September. [They reached New Orleans in safety on the 24th of October.]

THE ARMY LED BY COL GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN HIS CONQUEST OF THE ILLINOIS, 1778–9.

A list of the officers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers constituting the "Illinois Regiment of Volunteers" who served, in varying numbers and at different dates, under the command of Col. George Rogers Clark during the revolutionary war, with memoranda of the land bounty granted to each by act of the Virginia Assembly and confirmed by the general government.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
George Rogers Clark	Brigadier general	He received 10,000 acres, January, 1784
John Montgomery	Lieutenant colonel	He received 6,000 acres, February, 1784
Joseph Crockett	.. do	He received 9,110 acres, March, 1783
George Slaughter	.. do	He received 5,333⅓ acres as major. He is entitled as lieutenant colonel
Thomas Quirk	Major	He received 5,333⅓ acres, July, 1783
George Walls	.. do	He received 7,110 acres, July, 1784
John Crittenden	.. do	He received land as lieutenant for three years and four months, and is not entitled as brigade major
Charles Greer	Surgeon	He received 6,000 acres, December, 1830
Dr. Andre Ray	.. do	Entitled to land for a service of three years.
John Bailey	Captain	He received 4,000 acres, March, 1784
Richard Brashear	.. do	..do
Abraham Chaplin	.. do	..do
Benjamin Fields	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, August, 1832
Robert George	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, April, 1784
John Gerault	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, March, 1784
Abraham Keller	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, July, 1785
Richard McCarty	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, April, 1784
Michael Perault	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, March, 1784
John Rogers	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, February, 1783
Benjamin Roberts	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, July, 1830
Thomas Mark	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, November, 1830
Isaac Taylor	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, March, 1784
Robert Todd	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, February, 1784
John Williams	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, December, 1791
†John Capman	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, June, 1783
William Cherry	.. do	He received 5,000 acres, November, 1783
John Kerney	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, June, 1783. Entitled to land for seventh year
*Benjamin Kinley	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, March, 1784
Abraham Tipton	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, May, 1789
Peter Moore	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, January, 1832
Thomas Young	.. do	He received 4,000 acres, February, 1788
Jesse Evans	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Edward Worthington	.. do	..do
Leonard Helm	Indian agent	Entitled to land for a service of three years. (This claim was among those referred by the executive to the agent and reported on.)
Richard Harrison	Captain	Entitled to the difference between a lieutenant's and a captain's bounty. He has received a lieutenant's bounty for a service of three years

*Died. †Killed.

General George Rogers Clark.

Name,	Rank.	Remarks.
Richard Clarke	Lieutenant	He received 2,666⅔ acres, March, 1784.
William Clarke	.. do	..do.
Richard Harrison	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, April, 1784.
James Montgomery	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, March, 1784.
James Robertson	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, August, 1783.
Joseph Saunders	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, July, 1830.
Jarrett Williams	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, March, 1784.
Isaac Browning	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, January, 1805.
Rice Bullock	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, June, 1784
Bernard Glenn	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, August, 1784.
Thomas Walls	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, January, 1831.
Anthony Crockett	.. do	Entitled to land for three years.
Thos. Valentine Dalton	.. do	..do.
Thomas Ravenscroft	.. do	..do.
Joseph Ramsey	.. do	..do.
John Roberts	.. do	Entitled to land for the war.
Joseph Slaughter	.. do	..do.
James Slaughter	.. do	..do.
William Roberts	.. do	Entitled to the difference between 1,882 acres, which he has received, and a lieutenant's bounty for three years; about 784 acres now due him
James Merriweather	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres of land, January, 1784
William Asher	Ensign	He received 2,666⅔ acres, March, 1831.
Lawrence Slaughter	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, April, 1783.
Henry Daring	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, November, 1784.
*Hugh McGavock	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, September, 1831.
Samuel Ball Green	.. do	He received 2,666⅔ acres, September, 1831.
Joseph Kincaid	.. do	He is entitled to land for three years.
Robert Green	.. do	He was commissioned Dec. 1779; resigned 1780. In October, 1780, he was ensign in the 6th Virginia regiment. In July, 1781, he was lieutenant and was in the service in May, 1782, and probably to the end of the war. He is entitled to land for the war.
John Thurston	Cornet	He received 2,666⅔ acres, August, 1831.

* Died.

SOLDIERS AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Allery, Joseph	Private	Entitled to land for the war.
Allen, John Sr	.. do	..do.
Allen, John Jr.	.. do	..do.
Ash, John	.. do	..do.
Abbott, William, Sr.	.. do	..do.
Abbott, William, Jr.	.. do	..do.
Anderson, John	.. do	Entitled to land for three years. Deserted in 1781.
Allen, Samuel	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Apperson, Richard	Private	..do.
Allen, David	.. do	..do.
Asher, Bartlett	.. do	Entitled to land for three years.
Allen, Isaac	.. do	Entitled to land for the war.
Alonton, Jacob	.. do	Entitled to land for three years.
Adams, Francis	.. do	..do.
Andree, Jean	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war.
Antier, Francis	Private	..do.
Bell, William	.. do	..do.
Ballinger, Larkin	.. do	..do.
Blair, John	.. do	..do.
Bailey, David	.. do	..do.
Breeden, Richard	.. do	..do.
Brown, James	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years.
Berry, William	Private	..do.
Bentley, James	.. do	..do.
Bentley, John	.. do	..do.
Brazer, Peter	.. do	..do.
Bush, John	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Bush, Drury	.. do	..do.
Brown, James	.. do	..do.
Boston, William	.. do	..do.
Boston, Travis	.. do	..do.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Baxter, James	Corporal	Entitled to land for the war
Brown, Low	Private	..do
Brown, John	Private	(He received 200 acres of land)
Butler, John	.. do	Entitled to land for service during the war..
Biron, J. B	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Brown, Colin	Private	..do
Barry, William	.. do	..do
Bevard, ———	.. do	..do
Blancher, Pierre	.. do	..do
Bouche, John	.. do	..do
Bressie, Richard Thos	.. do	..do
Brossard, Pierre	Sergeant	..do
Blein, Pierre	Corporal	..do
Benton, or Bemton, Thos.	Private	..do
Breedon, John	Sergeant	..do
Bird, Samuel	Private	..do
Butcher, Gasper	.. do	..do
Back, John	.. do	..do
Ballard, Bland	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Ballard, Proctor	.. do	..do
Bowen, William	Corporal	..do
Ballard, James	.. do	..do
Bush, Thomas	Private	..do
Ballard, Wm. Bland	.. do	..do
Barber, John	.. do	..do
*Burnett, Robert	.. do	..do
Bryant, James	.. do	..do
Blankenship, Henry	.. do	..do
Bowman, Christian	.. do	..do
Burk, George	.. do	..do
Binkley, William	.. do	..do
Ballinger, James	.. do	..do
Burris, John	.. do	..do
Bender, Robert	.. do	..do
*Burbridge, John	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
*Burbridge, Wm	.. do	..do
‡Butts, William	.. do	..do
*Bender, Lewis	.. do	..do
Beckley, William	.. do	..do
Buskey, Francis	.. do	..do
Boyles, John	.. do	..do
Bowing, Ebenezer	.. do	..do
Brown, Asher	.. do	..do
Bingoman, Adam	.. do	..do
Bass, Adam	.. do	..do
Blackford, Samuel	.. do	..do
Bumey, Simon	.. do	..do
Brown, Lewis	.. do	..do
Begraw, Alexander	.. do	..do
Bond, Shadrach	Sergeant	Illinois Volunteers; entitled to 400 acres of land
Blearn, David	Private	Illinois Volunteers; entitled to 200 acres of land
Brown, Collin	.. do	Entitled to land for a service of three years..
Burne, Pierre	.. do	..do
Bolton, Daniel	.. do	Illinois Volunteers; entitled to 200 acres of land. He, after serving as a volunteer, enlisted in the Illinois regiment and deserted. Nevertheless, he is entitled to the bounty promised to the Illinois volunteers
Bush, William	.. do	Reported as a deserter
Clarke, Andrew	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Crump, William	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Creze (or Cruze, or Craze), Noah	Private	..do
Corneilla, Patrick	.. do	..do
Chapman, Edward	.. do	..do
Chapman, William	.. do	..do
Crossley, William	.. do	..do
Cowan (or Cowin) John	.. do	..do
Camp, Reuben	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Camper, Tillman	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Cogar, Peter	.. do	..do
Cogar, Jacob	.. do	..do
Clifton, Thomas	.. do	..do
Clarke, John	.. do	..do
Cannon (or Canore), Andrew	.. do	Entitled to land for the war

* Died. ‡ Prisoner.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Cabbage, Joseph	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Curry, James	.. do	..do
Conroy, Patrick	.. do	..do
Cure, Jean Baptiste	.. do	..do
Corus, John	.. do	..do
Crawley, John	.. do	..do
Cooper, Joseph	.. do	..do
Cooper, Ramsey	.. do	..do
Costa, J. B. de	.. do	..do
Clairmont, Michael	.. do	..do
Cabbassie, B	.. do	..do
Coffee, Samuel	.. do	..do
Conolly, Thomas	Fifer	..do
Coun, John	Private	..do
Campo, Lewis	.. do	..do
Campo, Michael	.. do	..do
Campbell, George	Sergeant	..do
Cowdry, John	Private	..do
Cowan, Andrew	.. do	..do
Cowan, Mason	.. do	..do
Calvin, Daniel	.. do	..do
Corder(or Corden)James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Campbell, John	.. do	..do
Curtis, Rice	.. do	..do
Chambers, Ellick	.. do	..do
Cockran, Edward	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Cockran, George	.. do	..do
Coheron, Dennis	.. do	..do
Carbine, Henry	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Cameron, James	Corporal	..do
Cowgill, Daniel	Private	..do
Crutcher, Henry	Volunteer and Q. M.	..do
Crane, St. John	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Certain, Page	.. do	..do
Compera, Lewis	.. do	..do
Compera, Francis	.. do	..do
Convance, Paul	.. do	..do
Contraw, Francis	.. do	..do
Coontz, Christopher	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Cox, James	.. do	..do
Coeles, Andrew	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Damewood, Boston	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Dewett, Henry	Sergeant	..do
Donne, John	C. M. S	Not entitled to land
Donovan, John	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Davis, Robert	.. do	..do
Darnell, Cornelius	.. do	..do
Dawson, James	.. do	..do
Detering, Jacob	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Doherty, John	.. do	He received 200 acres of land
Drust, Daniel	Sergeant-Major	Entitled to land for three years
Decker, Jacob	.. do	..do
Davis, James	.. do	..do
DeCosta, J. B. (noticed above under letter C)	Corporal	..do
Dulhonean, Pierre	Private	..do
Decrand, P	.. do	..do
Dusablong, B	.. do	..do
Duselle, Mons	.. do	..do
Darby, John	.. do	..do
Darby, Baptiste	.. do	..do
Dolphin, Peter	.. do	..do
Day, William	.. do	..do
Durrette, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
*Doherty, Frederick	.. do	..do
Doherty, Edward	.. do	..do
Dawson, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war, a James Dawson has received 200 acres of land; supposed to be another person
Denton, Thomas	.. do	Entitled to land for the war; 400 acres received by a Sergeant of this name
DeNeichelle, Lewis	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Duncan (or Duncom), Nimrod	.. do	..do
Duncan (or Duncom), Benjamin	.. do	..do
Doyle, John	.. do	..do
Duncan (or Duncom), Samuel	.. do	..do

* Died.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Duncan (or Duncom), Archibald	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Duncan (or Duncom), Charles	do	do
Duncan (or Duncom), Joseph	do	do
Dudley, Armistead	do	do
Doud, Roger	do	do
Duff, John	do	do
Donow, Joseph	do	A volunteer in Captain Worthington's cavalry, and entitled to 200 acres of land
Drumgold, James	do	Entitled to land for the war
Duncan, David	do	do
*Dean, James	do	do
Darnell, Cornelius	do	do
Davis, Joseph	do	Entitled to land for three years
Elms, William	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war. He received 200 acres of land, and is now entitled to 200 acres
Evans, Charles	Private	Entitled to land for the war. He received 100 acres of land, and is now entitled to 200
Elms, James	do	Entitled to land for the war. He also received 100 acres of land, and is entitled to 200 more
*Elms, John	do	Entitled to land for the war
English, Robert	do	do
Evans, Stanhope	do	do
Estis, James	do	do
Frazer, Abraham	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years. He served three years, afterwards he probably reenlisted and deserted. He should have land for his faithful service of three years
Favers, John	do	Entitled to land for the war
Flandegan, Dominick	do	Entitled to land for three years
Floyd, Isham	do	Entitled to land for the war
Freeman, William	do	do
Fair, Edmund	do	do
Fever, William	Private	do
Funk, Henry	do	Entitled to land for three years
Fache, Louis	do	do
‡Field, Lewis	do	do
*Field, Daniel	do	do
Freeman, Peter	do	do
Foster, Henry	do	do
Frost, Stephen	do	do
Godfrey, Francis	do	Entitled to land for the war
Gagnia, Lewis	do	do
Grimes, John	do	do
Grolet, Francis, Sr	do	do
Grolet, Francis, Jr	do	do
Gaskins, Thomas	do	do
Guion, Frederick S	do	do
Germain, J. B	do	Entitled to land for three years
Grimshire, John	do	do
Gagnia, Jacque	do	do
Gallagan, Owen	do	do
Gavuldon(or Ganchdon), Baptiste	do	do
Gagnia, Pierre	do	do
Goodwin (or Goodam), Wm	do	do
Goodloe, Henry	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Glass, Michael	Private	do
*Gwinn, William	do	do
Goodwin, Edward	do	do
Goodwin, Amos	do	do
Greenwood, Daniel	do	Entitled to land for three years
Gaines (or Garner), Wm	do	do
Gordon, John	do	do
George, John	do	do
Gomier (or Gannin), Abraham	do	do
Green, John	Sergeant	do
Garrett, John	do	do
Gibbons, Samuel	Private	do
Glenn, David	do	do

* Died. ‡ Prisoner.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Graham, James	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Guess, John	.. do	..do
Gratiott, Jean	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
*Green, James	.. do	..do
Gaines, John	.. do	Illinois volunteers. Entitled to 200 acres of land
Hardin, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Horn, Christopher	.. do	..do
*Hooper, Thomas	.. do	..do
Houndsler, Charles	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Hollis, Joshua	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Huffman, Jacob	.. do	..do
Harrison, Richard	.. do	Entitled to land for three years.
Hazard, John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years. He deserted after having served three years
Humphries, Samuel	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Holmes, James	.. do	..do
Hupp, Philip	Matross	..do
Hopkins, Richard	.. do	..do
†Haut, Henry	Sergeant	..do
Hite, George	Private	..do
Horn, Jeremiah	.. do	..do
Harrison, James	Gunner	..do
Hays, Thomas	Private	..do
Huin, Wm	Corporal	..do
*Hammett, James	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Higgins, Barney	.. do	..do
Hart, Miles	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Hays, James	.. do	..do
Haller, Francis	.. do	..do
*Hicks, Mordecai	.. do	..do
Hawkins, Samuel	Corporal	Entitled to land for the war
Horton, Adin	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Hawley, Richard	.. do	..do
Hicks, David	Sergeant	..do
Hall, William	Private	..do
Howell, Peter	.. do	..do
Heywood, Berry	.. do	..do
Hendrix, Andrew	.. do	..do
House, Andrew	.. do	..do
Head, James	.. do	..do
Hieldebrand, James	.. do	..do
Hobbs, James	.. do	..do
Hico, Peter, Sr	.. do	..do
Hico, Peter, Jr	.. do	..do
Hatten, Christopher	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Hatcher(or Hacker), Jno.	.. do	..do
Johnston, John	.. do	..do
Jewell, John	.. do	..do
Jarrell, James	.. do	..do
Johnston, Edward	.. do	..do
Jones, Edward	.. do	..do
Jones (or Johnus), Mat.	.. do	..do
Jewell, Charles	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Jamieson, Thomas	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Jones, John	Private	..do
Jones, David	.. do	..do
Johnston, Samuel	.. do	..do
Isaacs, John	.. do	..do
Joines, John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war. Received 100 acres
Irby, David	Private	Illinois volunteer. Entitled to 200 acres of land
Keller, Isaac	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war.
King, George	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Kennedy, David	.. do	..do
King, Nicholas	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. A. Nicholas King has received 200 acres of land
Kincaid, James	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Kendall, William	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Kirkley, James	.. do	Entitled to land for three years.
Kirk, Thomas	.. do	..do
Kerr, William	.. do	..do
Kidd, Robert	.. do	..do
Key, George	.. do	Entitled to land for the war

*Died. †Killed. ‡Prisoner.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Key, Thomas	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Kemp, Reuben	.. do	..do
Kina, Christopher	.. do	..do
Lunsford, Anthony	.. do	..do
Lunsford, Mason	.. do	..do
Lunsford, George	.. do	..do
Lasley, John	.. do	..do
Laughlin, Peter	.. do	..do
Lowell, Richard	Drummer	..do
Levinston, George	Private	..do
Luzader, Abraham	.. do	..do
†Lenay, Thomas	.. do	..do
†Lewis, Benjamin	.. do	..do
Larose, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Laventure, J	Sergeant	..do
Lafiour, Pierre	Private	..do
Lamarch, Lewis	.. do	..do
Lamarch, J. B	.. do	..do
Laviolette, Baptiste	.. do	..do
Lamarch, Beauvard	.. do	..do
Leney, Thomas	Gunner	..do
L'Enfant, Francis	Private	..do
Lafonn, John	.. do	..do
Lavigne, Joseph	.. do	..do
Laviolette, Louis	.. do	..do
LaBell, Charles	.. do	..do
Leney, John	.. do	..do
Lyon, Jacob	.. do	..do
Long, William	.. do	..do
Lyon, John	.. do	..do
Lockert (or Locket) Pleasant	.. do	..do
Loakbart, Archibald	.. do	..do
Lanbran, ———	.. do	..do
LaPaint, Louis	.. do	..do
LaCasse, Jacque	.. do	..do
Lasoint, Joseph	.. do	..do
LaFaro, Francis	.. do	..do
Lafarton, Francis	.. do	Illinois volunteer. Entitled to 200 acres of land
Logan, Hugh	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Lewis, James	.. do	..do
Missie, Bernard	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Murray, Edward	.. do	..do
Montgomery, John	.. do	..do
McDermott, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Mayfield, Micajah	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. He received 100 acres of land and is entitled to 200 more.
Mayfield, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Mayfield, Isaac	.. do	..do
Morris, Jacob	.. do	..do
†Maid, Ebenezer	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Mayfield, Elijah	.. do	..do
Moore, John	Sergeant	He received 200 acres of land and is entitled to 200 acres
McMickle, John	Private	Entitled to land for the war
*Morris, James	.. do	..do
†Miller, Abraham	Corporal	..do
Montgomery, John	Private	..do
McLockland, Charles	.. do	..do
Marsh, John	.. do	..do
Mathews, Edward	Sergeant	..do
Morgan, Charles	Sergeant and gunner	..do
McGuire, John	Private	..do
McIntosh, ———	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Maisonville, Mons. de	.. do	..do
Monet, J. B	.. do	..do
Mailone, J. B	.. do	..do
Maurisette, M	.. do	..do
Mason, Charles	Sergeant	..do
Mulby, William	Gunner	..do
Marr, Patrick	Corporal and Sergt.	..do
McMichaels, John	Private	..do
McMullen, James	.. do	..do
Mustach, ———	.. do	..do

* Died. † Killed.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Malroof, Joseph	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Moran (or Mauron) Peter	.. do	..do
McClure, Patrick	.. do	..do
Merriwether, William	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Miller, John	.. do	..do
Martin, Charles	.. do	..do
M'Donald, David	.. do	..do
*Murshen, Nathaniel	.. do	..do
Murphy, John	.. do	..do
Meadows, Josiah	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Milton(or Wilton) Daniel	.. do	..do
Murray, Thomas	Sergeant	..do
M'Clain, Thomas	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Munrony, William	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Munrony, Sylvester	Private	..do
M'Quiddy, Thomas	.. do	..do
M'Daniel, Thomas	.. do	..do
M'Donald, James	.. do	..do
Martin, Elijah	.. do	..do
Mummilly, Joseph	.. do	..do
Mureau, Joseph	.. do	..do
M'Kin, James	.. do	..do
Martin, Soloman	.. do	..do
Malbeff, Joseph	.. do	..do
M'Kinney, John	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Moore, John	.. do	These were Illinois volunteers who are by law entitled to 200 acres of land each
Martin, Pierre	.. do	
Morris, William	.. do	
Moore, Thomas	.. do	
Marshall, William	.. do	
M'Donald, Thomas	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
M'Gaun, John	Gunner	..do
Newton, Peter	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Nelson, Enock	.. do	..do
Nelson, Moses	.. do	..do
Nash, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Nelson, John	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Neal, John	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Nare, Conrad	.. do	..do
Nobbs, Mark	.. do	..do
Oaslow, Charles	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Onkley, John	Gunner	..do
Oliver, John	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Oharro, Michael	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Oater, Samuel	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Oliver, Lewis	.. do	..do
Owditt (or Odett), Lewis	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Ofin, James	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Oliver, Turner	.. do	..do
Ozburn (or Osborn), Ebenezer	.. do	..do
Parker, Edward	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war
Portwood, Page	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Perle, William	.. do	..do
Patterson, John	Private	Illinois volunteer, and entitled to 200 acres of land, by law
Potter, James	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Patterson, William	.. do	..do
Pulford, John	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Payne, Adam	.. do	..do
Priest, Peter	.. do	..do
Pritchett (or Pritcher) Wm	Corporal	..do
Penett (or Penit), Joshua	Private	..do
Pittman, Buckner	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years. He has received 200 acres of land
Purcell (or Pursley) Wm.	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Pupin, M	.. do	..do
Panther, Joseph	.. do	..do
Pellot, Charles	.. do	..do
Parisienne, Baptiste	.. do	..do
†Pepin, John	.. do	..do
†Penir, Jesse	.. do	..do
Puncrass, Joseph	.. do	..do
Puncrass, Francis	.. do	..do
Peltier, Joseph	.. do	..do
Paguin, Francis	.. do	..do

* Died. † Killed.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Powell, Micajah	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Payne, William	.. do	Deserted
Pagan, David	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Porter, Ebenezer	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Potter, William	.. do	..do
Peaters, John	.. do	..do
Philips, Henry	.. do	..do
Paroult, Peter	.. do	..do
Pickens, Samuel	.. do	Illinois volunteer, and entitled to 200 acres of land, by law
Petter, Joseph	.. do	..do
Poores, Archer	Fifer	Entitled to land for three years
Ross, John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for the war; he has received 200 acres of land; he is entitled to 200 acres more
Ryan, Andrew	Private	He deserted, rejoined the regiment and served his time, and is entitled to land for three years
*Rubido, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Ruddell (or Riddell), Cornelius	.. do	..do
Ryan, Lazarus	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Ramsey, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. He received 100 acres of land and is entitled to 200 acres more
Rector, John	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Roy, Julien	.. do	..do
Ranger, J. B	.. do	..do
Robertson, John	Sergeant	..do
Ross, James	.. do	..do
Rice, John	.. do	..do
Rogers, David	.. do	..do
Rutherford, Larkin	Private	..do
Rogers, Joseph	.. do	..do
Richards, Lewis	Sergeant	..do
Richards, Dick	Private	..do
Robinson, Richard	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Ross, Joseph	Corporal	..do
Roberts, Benjamin	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Roberts, Eliab	Private	..do
Russell, Benjamin	.. do	..do
Randall, Robert	.. do	..do
Roberts, Joseph	.. do	..do
Russhare, Francis	.. do	..do
Rabey, Cader	.. do	..do
Riley, Patrick	.. do	..do
*Rollison, William	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Rubido, James	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Shepherd, Peter	Corporal	Entitled to land for the war
Shepherd, George	Private	..do
Smith, William	.. do	..do
Slaughter, John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Shoemaker, Leonard	Private	..do
Smith, Joseph	.. do	..do
Setzer, John	.. do	..do
Slack, William	.. do	..do
Snellock, Thomas	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Smithers (or Smothers), John	.. do	..do
Smith, George	.. do	..do
Smith, Josiah	Gunner	..do
Shank, John	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Shank, Jacob	.. do	..do
Sills, Samuel	Corporal	..do
Smith, David	Private	..do
Smith, Randal	.. do	..do
Spencer, John	.. do	..do
Searay, John	.. do	..do
Smock, Henry	.. do	..do
Ship, William	.. do	..do
Snow, George	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Seare, William	.. do	..do
Siburn, Christopher	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Sennitt, Richard	.. do	..do
Scates, David	.. do	..do
Savage, Bryan	.. do	..do
Stoball, Thomas	.. do	Entitled to land for the war

* Died.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Sowers, Frederick	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Slaughter, George	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Shannon, William	.. do	..do
Stephenson, Samuel	.. do	..do
Stephenson, John	Sergeant	..do
Savage, Dominick	Private	..do
Soverins, Ebenezer	Sergeant	..do
St. Michaels, ——	Private	..do
St. Mary, Baptiste	.. do	..do
Sigonier, Francis	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Sworden, Jonathan	.. do	..do
Severidge, John Sharlock, James	.. do .. do	Illinois volunteers, and are entitled by law to 200 acres of land each
Spillman, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Trent, Beverley	Sergeant	..do
Tuttle, Nicholas	Private	..do
Tygard, Daniel	.. do	..do
Trantham, Martin	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Taylor, James	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. He has received 100 acres of land, and is entitled to 200 acres in addition
†Turpin, Richard	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Tompson, James	.. do	..do
Triplett, Pettis	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Tillis, Griffin	.. do	..do
Taliaferro, Richard C	.. do	..do
Thomas, Edward	.. do	..do
Taylor, Edward	.. do	..do
Taylor, Benjamin	.. do	..do
Tolley, John	.. do	..do
Tyler, William	.. do	..do
Tolly, Daniel	.. do	..do
Taylor, Abraham	.. do	..do
Thoorington, Joseph	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Thompson, William	Corporal	Entitled to land for the war. He received 200 acres and is entitled to 200 acres in addition to his former allowance
Taylor, Thomas	Soldier	Entitled to land for the war (300)
Voushiner, Thomas	Private	..do
†Villiers, Francis	Sergeant	..do
Underhill, James	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Villard, Isaac	.. do	..do
Veale, Peter	.. do	..do
Whitehead, Robert	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Whitehead, William	.. do	..do
Whitten, Daniel	.. do	..do
White, Randal	.. do	..do
White, Robert	.. do	..do
Welton, Daniel	.. do	..do
Ward, Thomas	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. He received 100 acres of land, and is entitled to 200 additional
Walters, Lewis	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Watkins, Samuel	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. A Samuel Watkins has received 200 acres of land; possibly this individual
Williams, John	.. do	Entitled to land for the war. A John Williams has received 200 acres of land; perhaps this individual
Waters, Barney	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Walker, John	Sergeant	..do
Wheat, Jacob	Private	..do
Wallace, David	.. do	..do
Whiteacre, David	.. do	..do
White, William	.. do	..do
*Waggoner, Peter	.. do	..do
Wood, Charles	.. do	Entitled to land for three years
Wheel, Jacob	.. do	..do
Wilkerson, William	.. do	..do
Wray, Thomas	.. do	..do
Ward, Lewis	.. do	..do
Williams, George	.. do	..do
Windsor, Christopher	.. do	..do
Wheeler, John	.. do	..do
Waddington, John	.. do	..do

*Died. †Killed.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Wright, William	Private	Entitled to land for three years
Wethers, Benjamin	.. do	..do
West, John	.. do	..do
White, Randolph	Sergeant	..do
White, John	Private	..do
Workman, Conrad	Sergeant	..do
Wemate, J. B.	Private	..do
White, Laden	.. do	..do
Williams, Zachariah	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Williams, Daniel	.. do	..do
Wilson John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Wray, Thomas	Private	..do
Yates, Isaac	.. do	Entitled to land for the war
Young, John	Sergeant	Entitled to land for three years
Zuckledz, William	Private	Entitled to land for the war
Zimmerman, Frederick	.. do	..do

CAPTAIN CHARLOVILLE'S VOLUNTEERS.*

The act of the Assembly allowing bounty land to the Illinois volunteers, made no special provisions for the officers. They are therefore only entitled, as privates, to 200 acres. Captain, Francis Charloville; lieutenant, Antyear Joneast; ensign, Baptiste Joneast.

Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
Allere, Bazelle	Private	Entitled to 200 acres of land
Antere, Michael	.. do	..do
Blouen, Daniel	.. do	..do
Beauvenue, ——	.. do	..do
Charney, Gaiot	.. do	..do
Daney, Gerom	.. do	..do
Daney, Joseph	.. do	..do
Daney, Michael	.. do	..do
Drow, Garr	.. do	..do
Dewar, ——	Sergeant major	..do
Frey, Daett	Private	..do
Laney, Perde	.. do	..do
Lackhouse, Nicholas	.. do	..do
Lavan, Anthony	.. do	..do
Lavea, ——	.. do	..do
Matean, Gero	.. do	..do
Montrauye, ——	.. do	..do
Normornstea, ——	.. do	..do
Papin, ——	Sergeant	..do
Raomma, Paul	Private	..do
Richard, Joseph	.. do	..do
Richard, Aury	.. do	..do
Saniade, Alexander	.. do	..do
Tow, Pres	.. do	..do
Toulouse, ——	.. do	..do

*Captain Francois Charloville's company numbered 50 men, who volunteered at Cahokia, January, 1779, for eight months' service, a little prior to the departure of Col. Clark's expedition to capture Vincennes, and served with him through that memorable campaign. Only 28 of that number are comprised in the foregoing list; and, with few exceptions, their names are so wretchedly spelled—or misspelled—as to be scarcely recognizable.

J. F. S.

A pay-roll of Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, from the 24th day of January, 1778, under the command of Colonel G. Rogers Clark.

Name.	When listed.	When discharged.	Miles to go home.	Rations due the men.
Captain Joseph Bowman	Jan. 23	Aug. 18	1,200	$436
First Lieutenant Isaac Bowman	Jan. 23	Aug. 8	1,200	258
Second Lieutenant Abraham Kellar	Jan. 24	Aug. 8	1,100	316
Daniel Dust, sergeant	Jan. 24	Aug. 8	700	76
Isaac Kellar, sergeant	Jan. 25	Aug. 8	1,100	107
Promoted, Jacob Speers, sergeant	July 5	Aug. 8	1,150	.....
Michael Sester	Feb. 20	Aug. 8	1,200	75
Abraham Miller	Feb. 25	Aug. 8	1,200	105
William Slack	Feb. 28	Aug. 8	1,200	72
†Ligey Huste	Feb. 28	.....	.....	.....
†Thomas Perrey	.....	.....	.....	.....
†Robert McClanihan	.....	.....	.....	.....
†Barney Master	.....	.....	.....	.....
John Sester	Feb. 8	Aug. 8	1,200	62
John Bentley	Feb. 22	Aug. 8	1,200	48
Henry Honaker	Mar. 1	Aug. 8	700	39
Frederick Honaker	Mar. 1	Aug. 8	700	39
Henry Funk	Mar. 2	Aug. 8	1,200	38
George Liviston	Mar. 4	Aug. 8	.....	.....
Henry Chrisman	Mar 4	Aug. 8	.....	.....
Samuel Strode	Mar. 7	Aug. 8	1,100	70
Edward Bulger	Mar. 8	Aug. 8	1,100	64
Abrm James	Mar. 8	Aug. 8	1,100	64
Alexander McIntire	Mar. 8	Aug. 8	1,100	64
Philip Orben	Mar. 8	Aug. 8	1,100	69
Thomas Clifton	Mar. 9	Aug. 8	1,100	68
William Berry	Mar. 15	Aug. 8	1,100	63
Barnabay Walters	Mar. 15	Aug. 8	1,100	63
William McGumrey	Mar. 16	Aug. 8	1,100	62
Jacob Cogar	Mar. 21	Aug. 8	1,150	55
Peter Gogar	Mar. 21	Aug. 8	1,150	55
*Jacob Speers	Mar. 21	July 4	1,150	27
Thos. B. Vance	Mar. 22	Aug. 8	1,150	27
James Bentley	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,200	10
†George Miller	Apr. 6	.....	.....	.....
Patrick Doran	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,200	36
Henry Traylar	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,200	31
Isaac McBride	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,200	36
Edward Murrey	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,100	36
Tos Simson	Apr. 6	Aug. 8	1,100	36
Philip Long	May 6	Aug. 8	1,100	6
George King	May 21	Aug. 8	600	.....
Joseph Pangrass	May 27	Aug. 8	600	.....
Francis Pangrass	May 27	Aug. 8	.....	.....
Michael Pangrass	May 27	Aug. 8	.....	.....
Charles McClock	.....	Aug. 8	.....	.....
‡Nathan Cartmill	.....	.....	.....	.....
‡James Gouday	.....	.....	.....	.....
‡Samuel Dust	.....	.....	.....	.....
‡William Berrey	.....	.....	.....	.....
‡Zebeniah Lee	.....	.....	.....	.....

† Deserted. ‡ Jan. 28, deserted.

* Jacob Speers appears twice on the pay-roll; but evidently only one man of that name was in the company, and he was promoted July 4, 1778, from the ranks to the position of Sergeant. Twelve of Captain Bowman's men discharged at Kaskaskia August 8, re-enlisted in the other companies that remained with Colonel Clark, namely, William Slack, Abraham Miller, John Bentley, Henry Funk, Thomas Clifton, William Berry, James Bentley, Edward Murrey, George King, Francis and Joseph Pangrass (or Puncrass), and Peter Coger. J. F. S.

NOTE.—The foregoing list of officers and private soldiers of Colonel Clark's Illinois Army, with exception of the pay-roll of Captain Bowman's company, is a copy of "Document No. 32" addressed to the Executive of the State of Virginia, dated at Richmond, Va., on the 19th of August, 1833, and signed by "John H. Smith," presumably a state official.

As is generally known, Col. George Rogers Clark entered Kaskaskia in the night of July 4, 1778, with four companies of volunteers, all afoot, aggregating less than 200 in number; and that he immediately captured the town, including the old Jesuit building transformed by a surrounding stockade into "Fort Gage," and Lieut Gov. Philip de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, the renegade Frenchman, in command of its British garrison.

The identity of the men constituting that band of rugged patriots—with exception of Captain Bowman's company—is lost in this "List of the Illinois Regiment" numbering 62 names and including all those who enlisted in his service after he had captured both Kaskaskia and Vincennes and the recruits sent to him later from Virginia.

On the 8th of August, thirty-five days after he took Kaskaskia, two of Colonel Clark's four companies—one of which was Captain Bowman's—were discharged and returned to Virginia with the exception of about twenty-five of the privates who re-enlisted in the two companies that remained at Kaskaskia.

In the following winter, when Colonel Clark had determined to attack Governor Hamilton at Post Vincennes, his force of about 100 true and tried veterans who had followed him from Virginia, was re-enforced by volunteers gathered in the Illinois, enlisted for eight months, in most part, organized in two companies commanded respectively by Captains Francois Charleville and Richard McCarty.

On the 4th day of February, 1779, Colonel Clark having completed his preparations for moving on Post Vincennes with his four companies, despatched one of them—that of Capt. John Rogers, numbering 47 men—by keel boat (armed with a small gun and several swivels taken from the old Jesuit building and originally brought there from Fort Chartres in 1772 by the English), to proceed down the Mississippi and up the Ohio and to a point up the Wabash there to await his arrival. On the next day, February 5, with the residue of his "army," 170 men, he commenced his march eastward, across trackless prairies and overflowed streams, upon his desperate venture.

With exception of the 28 members of Captain Charleville's company, separately recorded, the identity of the 217 heroic men in that expedition—a hundred of whom came into the Illinois with Colonel Clark—is also lost in the "List of the Illinois Regiment."

All the volunteers who served with Colonel Clark in his conquest of the Northwest—gaining by his genius and their valor an empire of territory for the struggling republic—are deserving of the highest meed of honor and praise that can be bestowed by a grateful people. But as Illinois—as now defined—was the principal theatre of Colonel Clark's most brilliant and valued military achievements, the sturdy sons of Virginia, Maryland, Georgia and Kentucky who landed with him at the mouth of Massac creek, a mile above the old Massac fort, on the 30th of June, 1778, and trudged with him, in heat of midsummer, a hundred miles through an unknown wilderness to attack a fortified enemy surrounded by swarms of treacherous Indian allies; with those valiant citizens of Kaskaskia and Cahokia who joined the veterans, and with them marched, in the rigors of midwinter, against the English at Vincennes, must always claim priority in the special admiration and homage of all Illinoisans. But no history of Illinois yet written records their names; nor has any effort yet been made by this State to ascertain who they were, or to commemorate in fitting manner the glory of their deeds.

The original muster rolls, pay-rolls and other documents of Colonel Clark's little army from its organization are still extant. Illinois should long ago have secured and published copies of them. To longer neglect doing so the State will be shamefully recreant to a sacred duty. That duty the State Historical Society will accurately, expeditiously and gratuitously discharge if the State will defray unavoidable expenses incurred in the work.

J. F. S.

AN EARLY ILLINOIS NEWSPAPER.

Extracts from its files. By J. H. Burnham.

The Illinois Herald was the earliest newspaper in Illinois Territory. It was published at Kaskaskia, either in 1814 or 1815. A very few copies of this early newspaper are in existence, but the oldest bound newspaper files extant, are those of the Western Intelligencer, which, in 1816 became the successor of the Illinois Herald.

Through the courtesy of the officers of the Mercantile Library at St. Louis, Mo., I have been permitted to peruse the columns of this precious, early newspaper, whose contents are now very interesting to students of Illinois history, and these extracts appear to be worth publishing.

This bound volume is not complete. It commences May 15, 1816, and six of its later issues are absent, so that in all, about one-half of the year is missing.

It is a very small four page journal, with only four columns to a page. Its typographical appearance is very respectable, considering the times and the scanty fonts of type available.

It was published weekly by Daniel P. Cook, and appears to have been edited by him. Its price was $2.50 a year, if paid in advance, and $3 if paid at the end of the year. Its subscription list must have been small indeed. It was published in the English language, in a town where French was the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants. Very few of its residents, aside from the Territorial officers and their associates, were English speaking people, while the scattered inhabitants of the newly organized counties in the territory, may well be supposed to have furnished few subscribers outside of the lawyers, merchants and county officials, and this will perhaps explain why the columns of the Intelligencer were so meagerly furnished with local and territorial news, as will appear plainly in the course of these extracts.

Advertisements and the publication of official orders and laws, all of which we may well believe was paid matter, took up most of the space, but we glean occasionally something of value.

The latest United States laws are printed on its first page, signed by James Madison, president, approved April 16, 1816. On the second page Wm. H. Crawford, secretary of war, makes his annual report to Congress on affairs in the Indian department, which we can well believe was important information to a people who were most emphatically a frontier population.

The war with England had been over but little more than a year, and in July, 1815, less than a year previous, peace with Indian tribes had been finally established by a conference which took place below Alton, between Indian chiefs on one side and Governor Clark of Missouri Territory, and Governor Edwards of Illinois Territory on the other side. None knew whether this was to be a lasting peace, or a mere truce. The war with Great Britain had closed with the British in possession of the region around Rock Island, even as far south as near Quincy, on the Mississippi; and in all of the northern and western part of the territory, there was no security for settlers, and no settlements were as yet attempted excepting perhaps a few families in Pike county.

It will thus be seen that whatever pertained to the Indians must have been of deep interest to the readers of the Intelligencer.

In this first issue the editor very naively tells us that "The Eastern mail brought us news, much later than the news of the week before."

The Hon. Benjamin Stephenson was then territorial delegate in Congress. Here is an extract from one of his letters to a friend in Kaskaskia:

"I have the pleasure of informing you that I have succeeded, with the aid of my friends, in getting all of the bills relating to Illinois passed without an exception. No man could have been more fortunate than I was. The following is the list of them as reported viz.: A bill making the Wabash the line of division between Illinois and Indiana until a line due north from Vincennes will cross the Wabash for the last time.

"A bill extending the time of leasing the United States Salines from three to seven years. A bill respecting the Judiciary of Illinois.

"A bill respecting settlers and extending the right of pre-emption to those who settled on lands reserved for the use of schools. A bill to appoint a surveyor of the public lands of Illinois and Missouri. A bill to open a road from Shawneetown to Kaskaskia, for which object $8,000 are appropriated. A bill to establish a land office at Madison county court house, (which is now Edwardsville.)

"All of which bills have passed both houses and become laws. Other laws of a general nature have passed, whose beneficial influence will be experienced by the people of Illinois. I have also procured a post route from Shawneytown, by White and Edwards counties, to Vincennes.

"The foregoing bills passed in the same shape in which they were reported by the committees. I flatter myself that the result of my labors will convince my constituents that I have been zealously engaged in the promotion of their interests.

"B. STEPHENSON."

Michael Jones, register, and Shadrack Bond, receiver, of the United States land office advertise that on, "The first Monday in

August they will receive proposals for leasing the lead mines belonging to the United States in the lead mines (the Pimantoui* Grant to Renault on the Illinois river excepted.) Parties leasing are notified that they must survey and mark their lands, so as to enable other lessees to locate safely."

As the first comers were required to do the surveying for later prospectors, as the lands were not properly described, and as the Indians were not yet known to be peaceable, we need not be surprised to find that later issues of the Intelligencer do not report that leases were made or that any development of the lead mines took place.

Congressional news takes up a little over one column of space, and there are two columns and a half of advertisments in this issue.

The executors of the late Thomas Todd advertise to sell the homestead and all of the other property on May 23rd.

Ninian Edwards, then Governor of Illinois Territory, offers "to sell or rent for a term of years, tracts of land, amounting in all to 1,468 acres and including the farm on which I lately resided, 388 acres of the farm on which I now reside; 400 acres six miles above Kaskaskia; and 1,500 acres one mile above Prairie Du Rocher. I also wish to purchase rails and I will give $3 per acre for plowing."

This shows the Governor to have been a man of large means for those days, and we do not wonder that he appears in our early history as able to dress expensively and ride in a fine carriage. Incidentally this also proves that plowing must have been a difficult part of farming, if it was worth $3 per acre in those times of low values. But as we are aware that steel plows had not yet been invented, we must conclude that the Governor simply offered ordinary prices.

Daniel P. Cook, the publisher, afterwards congressman and statesman, for whom Cook county was named, was at this time Auditor of Public Accounts of Illinois Territory, and as such officer, gave his paper a little over a column of advertising matter, relating to the listing and taxing of lands of non-residents. We find in this first issue no local or Kaskaskia news.

In the next issue we have more laws liberally published, more congressional news, no local news, but a very important announcement from the editors, endorsing Nathaniel Pope for candidate for delegate to Congress. He was elected. Russell E. Heacock is also announced as a candidate, with a statement that his circulars will appear in a few days.

The lead mine advertisement appears, also the Auditor's advertisement, also a lengthy notice, paid for of course, of a public letting to take place at Belleville, St. Clair county, for a new county court house. This same notice appears in full on another page, but we can scarcely believe it to have been paid for twice, and one is left to wonder whether the shrewd political editor repeated the notice to

*This supposed lead mine was thought to be in the neighborhood of Peoria, which was at one time called Pimantoui, by the French. The Renault Grant at or near Peoria, is one of our historic puzzles.

curry favors with the St. Clair county officers, or whether the printer preferred to run the type in twice rather than take the trouble to fill the space with the live reading matter so woefully needed.

Two intentions to start new ferries are advertised, one on the Mississippi, and one on the Kaskaskia river, giving evidence of increasing emigration.

Peculiarly illustrative of the times, is an offer of $100 reward for the apprehension of a negro slave named David "who ran away from Glasgow, Ky., who can read and write, and has probably provided himself with a pass calling himself a free man," and it is stated that he will probably try to enter some of the northwestern territories."

The third issue of the paper continues the publication of laws and official advertisements and offers $50 for another runaway slave. This one appears to have been claimed by Josiah McClenahan, of Wine Shibboleth, Washington county, state not named but most likely the territory of Missouri is meant.

The citizens of Shawneetown are said to have given notice through the newspapers of Kaskaskia, Frankfort, Ky., and Nashville, Tenn., that they will apply to the Legislature of Illinois, for the establishment of a bank. The committee in charge of the bank project is stated to consist of John Caldwell, John McLean and James Weir. This is one of the earliest intimations we have of the commercial progress of Shawneetown, where an elegant stone bank building was afterwards constructed by the State Bank, which structure is still in existence. It also gives us a hint that the newspapers of Frankfort, Ky., and Nashville, Tenn., must have had quite a circulation in Illinois at this period.

Incidentally it might be worth mentioning, that John McLean of this bank committee, who came to Shawneetown in 1815, afterwards became Congressman and United States Senator. On his death in 1830, the new county of McLean was named in his honor.

One of the paper's advertisements should be quoted as follows:

"*D. P. Cook Counsellor and Attorney-at-Law* respectfully tenders his services to the people of this territory, and assures them that business confided to him will be punctually attended to. His arrangements for editing the W. Intelligencer will not interfere with his professional business. He keeps his office in the east end of the frame occupied by Wm. Morrison, Esq., as a store, where he also keeps the auditor's office. Kaskaskia, April 20, 1816."

On Wednesday, June 5, the paper comes out as being published by Cook & Blackwell; Robert Blackwell, a practical printer, having been taken into partnership by Mr. Cook.

Real news is now given in the editorial column as follows:

"By information received from St. Louis, we learn that treaties of peace were concluded on Saturday the 1st., between the United States and 8 bands of the Sioux who reside above Prairie Du Chien,

(which was then within the northern limits of Illinois Territory.) The most of these are those who have heretofore been denominated Dickinson's Indians."

This news was of almost national importance and we can easily imagine that anything which promised to open the fertile region of northern Illinois and what is now southern Wisconsin to settlement, was of the greatest possible local interest.

The Intelligencer also tells us that it was "supposed that another treaty would be concluded with the Winnebagoes who were nearest to Prairie Du Chien who have separated themselves from the balance of the tribe which live on Rock river, and do not yet seem disposed to bury the tomahauk."

Monroe county is believed to be the only county in this State whose boundaries exist today, as originally marked out by the Legislature of Illinois Territory, and it is with special pleasure we find the Intelligencer giving us this bit of local news, which we may very well call historic.

"A number of citizens met at Harrisonville on the first day of June, 1816, being the day fixed by territorial law for the county to assume its name. The meeting took place at McClure's tavern where an elegant repast was partaken of, after which toasts were drank, each accompanied with a discharge of cannon. One toast was "'The Illinois Territory,' may its fertile soil never want cultivation so long as liberty pervades the Western Hemisphere." Three cheers.

"'The Mississippi,' may its majestic stream continue to waft the produce of the west, and its steam navigation increase so as to furnish a sufficient supply for the western country" Seven cheers, (and the cannon of course.)

In the issue of June 19, Michael Jones, register of the land office at Kaskaskia, publishes an official advertisement of great interest to the settlers and pre-emptors, which now appears like ancient history, but which was then of the highest importance, and must have been read and studied with the greatest care. We are told in history that the subsequent prosperity of the whole west depended in a great measure on the impetus given by the government's policy towards settlers as inaugurated at this period.

The same number contains a detailed statement from the Hon. B. Stephenson, delegate in Congress, carefully written, explaining to his constituents what had been accomplished by the last session of Congress in the direction of territorial legislation. Much of this has been given in a previous extract published in this article. He mentions his success in procuring speedy payment to the 700 to 800 territorial rangers, mainly from Illinois and Indiana, who had rallied to the defense of the frontier in the Indian troubles of 1812. Four companies of these were known as "Governor Edwards' Rangers," and as these were Illinoisans, it will be seen that the payment of their claims must have been an event of the deepest interest. He also procured the land for Mrs. Ann Gilham, in compensation for her

sufferings from the Indians, and states he could no doubt have procured more, (probably relief in more cases) had the proofs been properly prepared.

As Mrs. Gilham's case is now historic, we can only lament that proper proofs were not prepared for other sufferers. Mr. Stephenson's report covers nearly a whole page, and I regret that this important document cannot be reproduced here in full.

The editors apologize for not giving news on account of the length of Mr. Stephenson's article and the great number of advertisements which had been sent for insertion.

The editor meant by "news," mostly reprints from the eastern and foreign journals of events which had occurred from a month to three months previous. Some of the most important transactions in European modern history were thus given to the western world.

The Journal takes a few lines to tell us that Col. Pierre Menard is a candidate for the Legislative Court (Council) from Randolph county, and Dr. George Fisher for the House of Representatives from the same county, and gives them both a few words of commendation.

Before this date we have been favored with notices of the proposed sale of town lots at the town of Carmi, White county, and we are now told that there will be a sale at the town of Brownville. The town site is not located, but as the "plan of the town may be seen at the Saline on Big Muddy river," it is likely the site was in that vicinity. Deeds were to be executed by Conrad Will, and Susanna, his wife.

Another negro tried the hospitalities of Illinois by crossing at Smelser's Ferry, from St. Charles county, Missouri. His name is given as Rendal, and $25 reward is offered for his recovery or for placing him in jail. This poor fellow would appear to have a slim chance for escape, provided the public were readers of this Kaskaskia Journal, but as probably the public saw very few copies, he ran much less risk than we might suppose. He is described as being "knock kneed, turns his toes out; crippled in his right hand" and "stutters in talking," and has "two or three fingers growing to the inside of his hand." His "shirt and overalls of deer skin" were very likely not much of a distinction for those days, but a glance at the inside of his hands and the nerve to capture him, would easily have been worth $25.

Important Indian news is given June 25th, where we are told that Brigadier General Smith, "with about 1,000 regular troops ascended to Rock river a few weeks ago to erect a Fort; he chose a position on Rock Island, the most commanding spot in that quarter, and immediately commenced building. The Indian chiefs pressed him to desist declaring that they could not be held responsible for the conduct of their warriors, who disapprobated building a fort in their neighborhood. The general treated them very civilly but went on with his work, and no doubt by this time has a fortress of great

strength completed. Three hundred of the Rifle Regiment have sailed from Belle Fountaine to join him."*

On July 9th, we are told more European news than hitherto, we have account of a steamboat explosion at Wheeling, Va.; appeals to voters, as the August election is near; but we look in vain for any further news of the 300 neighbors who have gone to fight Indians.

Bellefontaine was at that period the government Western headquarters for military rifles, about ten miles above the St. Louis of 1816.

July 24th, we are told that "the voters of the District of Maine voted on the question of separation from the State of Massachusetts, and setting up as a state and that the vote was 17,075 in favor, and 10,548 against." Also, "that the Federal candidate for governor of the state of New Hampshire was defeated by 2,344 votes." Also. "that the people of the Territory of Indiana in convention, assembled. adjourned, after determining to go into the Union as an independent state, and that on motion they decided to name the new state Indiana, by a vote of 34 to 6."

We obtain a glimpse of the troubles of the free negro by an advertisement signed Josiah Millard of St. Genevieve, Mo., just across the river from Prairie Du Rocher, who has taken up a negro supposed to have ran away from his master. "He came there in a boat, and passes himself as a free man." His clothes were good enough to belong to a free man, as "he has with him a pair of velvet or corded pantaloons, a pair of buckskin do, a pair of linsey do, faced with deer skin, a black casimere roundabout, a striped cotton vest, buckskin hunting shirt, and white hat." Let us fervently hope that Tom, as he called himself, was allowed the benefit of all doubts and suffered to go free, but we fear the poor fellow fellow, without funds was sold to pay charges and forced into slavery.

But this same issue contains an offer of the large reward of $300 for the apprehension of a Tennessee negro, who has a forged pass with permission to hire himself, and it is thought likely he is in Illinois or some adjacent territory.

The same advertisement offers $50 for the return of a Kentucky negro, and we are inclined to believe that these territories offered rather more attractions to negroes than did the territories to the southward.

July 31st furnishes the same tedious advertisements, tells the same negro stories, but flashes a new light by stating that Benjamin Munn has 150 barrels of Kanhawa salt for sale, while Thomas Cox advertises at Kaskaskia, a tavern on the bank of the river, where he in-

*The Rifle Regiment referred to above, must have been one of the Territorial militia regiments of the times.

Quite possibly a record of this volunteer expedition to Rock Island may be found in our State archives, but I have not been able to learn anything more than the above statement. Not another reference to this expidition can be found in the files of the Intelligencer, which I consider remarkable.

I recently wrote to the Secretary of War at Washington, and received a reply that it was contrary to the policy of the War Department to furnish information from its files. Who can give a further account of this expedition?—J. H. B.

tends keeping the best viands the country affords, not forgetting to state that he is "well supplied with the best liquors."

There is still no news of the volunteers, but we are given nearly a whole page of reprinted reading matter. This looks as if the editor was off on business or political trip, and had left the printer in charge. He, or whoever it may have been, gives an article on "British Arrogance," an "Anecdote of the United States Navy," and a long article on a "Matrimonial Lottery," with other reprinted articles. There is an article of down river news, however, as we are told of the 7th of July, "the water has entirely receded from New Orleans and that the damage will be trifling to what was expected and that never in the recollection of the most aged person, has the Mississippi been known to fall so soon."

Peter Bean, in an advertisement, shows a glimpse of old laws, by giving notice from the jail in Johnson county that "he has petitioned to take the benefit of the insolvent act, and hopes to be liberated from imprisonment."

The year 1816 is known in history as the year of the cold summer, when the corn crop failed throughout the country. It would be of great interest to be told something of the weather in the Mississippi valley, but the nearest approach is news from the east, in the issue of August 27th as follows:

"Extraordinary Weather—At Watertown, Jefferson county, New York, on June 7th, the cold was so severe as to produce ice $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch thick, and the thermometer was down to 30 degrees. At Hallowell, Me., June 12th an account states that snow fell three days in succession and the earth was frozen half an inch deep. Many birds were so benumbed as to be taken by hand and numbers had actually perished with the cold." Oh, for an item telling us how the corn crop was in the American bottom!

For the first time we have a notice of preaching, "to take place Tuesday, the 13th, at the court house by Rev. M. E. Walker, who will attend to baptizing children." (This was Rev. Jesse Walker, the pioneer Methodist.)

By accident, it almost seems, a matter of local interest appears in the United States laws published on August 21st, when an act for the relief of the late P. Maxwell and Hugh H. Maxwell, of Kaskaskia, was published along with other laws. Hugh Maxwell was the original of the famous Maxwell land grant of the west, which has caused so much litigation in the last half century.

A writing on the margin of this number says "Robert Blackwell, his file," and leads us to believe that we are indebted to the printer Blackwell, for the preservation of this, the oldest Illinois newspaper file known to be extant.

An address to the voters of Illinois signed "Aristides," begins to give a slight view of political writing such as would naturally be looked for in this file of early newspapers. Among other statements he says—

"The colonial and degraded states of this country under the government of the Ordinance, that accursed badge of despotism, which withholds from the people, the only true source of all power, a participation in those rights, guaranteed by the constitution of every state in the Union, seems to have the effect of chilling every spark of political disquisition, and to have sunk man beneath the dignity of his nature, a poor fallen creature from that proud station, the destiny of freemen."

"The present rapid influx of population; the growing and prosperous state of the country, justifies the belief that it will not be more than three or four years before we will burst the chains of despotism, by which we are now bound, and stand a sovereign and independent State.

"It therefore becomes necessary that the public mind should be prepared for the event. It is high time to begin to think and talk about the form of State government that so soon must take place."

Matthew Saucier publishes an affidavit showing that "while hunting with his nephew, Baptist Beaurbien, his nephew observed a box lying in the water on the Marais Sassafrax, through which passes Prairie Du Puert creek, which when examined, proved to be iron moulds for casting money, and further, that he found the cover to the box about 80 yards from the main road, and from thence to the yard gate of Mr. Foster's dwelling place it was about 40 yards and further the deponent sayeth not."

Nothing more is stated, the publishers being content to publish the advertisement, and to leave the reader to guess what became of the box of moulds and whether any counterfeiting was heard of in the neighborhood of Prairie Du Pont. A young man advertises for a situation in a dry goods store, but there is no notice or advertisement or other intimation that Kaskaskia or any other town in Illinois possessed a dry goods store in 1816.

No marriages or deaths have yet been noticed, but on August 28th we find Margaret Lord gives notice that she wishes a divorce from her husband, James Lord, who has left her bed and board.

Education begins to be noticed, as Benjamin Sturgess gives notice "that he has opened a school at Prairie Du Rocher, where he will teach the usual branches of English Education, viz: Writing, Reading and Common Arithmetic, also English Grammer, Geography, Surveying, Astronomy, Latin and Greek languages. He thinks Prairie Du Rocher is as healthy as any place in the American Bottom," which may have been understood at the time as not a very improbable statement. He declares that "good board can be obtained at moderate terms and so forth."

October 2d, "A Foe to Religious Tyrany" publishes No. 3, of his arguments against tyranny. His trouble appears to be mainly, that the Rev. Jesse Walker, of historic fame, brings politics into his pulpit. The article is quite spicy, and seems to portend further controversy.

A list of letters remaining in the postoffice at St. Genevieve, Mo., is published on Oct. 23d, and seems to show that over fifty letters were detained. Does this indicate that the addressees were not willing to pay postage, wich was enormously high?

"Justitia" replies at length to the "Foe to Religious Tyrany," and in a temperate manner, denies that there is among the Methodist preachers. any such combination as has been intimated for the purpose of influencing the last election.

The Intelligencer of Nov. 20, 1816, tells us that "Col. John Edgar has received from the President of the United States his commission as Brigadier General of the Militia of this territory, which appointment he has accepted."

Here is almost the only one item of Kaskaskia local news which has been discovered in this file and no doubt this was not published on that account, but because it was of Territorial interest.

The Intelligencer also mentions that a "boat crossing the river opposite St. Louis carrying eight persons was upset by a high wind, and five persons in the boat perished, among the number, Major Starks, formerly of the United States Army."

Cook & Blackwell give notice they will publish a copy of the Militia laws of the Territory, provided 120 subscribers can be procured.

On November 27th, a long editorial, the longest yet seen on Education, winds up as follows:

"And we do fondly trust that the sons of Kaskaskia, a place, which must at some day be a towering city, (instead of towering, it is now a deep hole in the bottom of the Mississippi) will no longer be compelled to spend their days from morn till eve in idleness and debauchery."

A new store in Edwardsville, and a new store in St. Louis appeal for business, and a sale of 100 Merino sheep are advertised in this issue.

December 4th, a whole page of post routes just authorized meets our eye, and Illinois Territory has but one of these routes from "Shawneetown by White Court house and Edwards Court house to Vincennes, Indiana."

On Monday, December 2d., the Territorial Legislature met at Kaskaskia, and this issue briefly tells us that a quorum of each house was present, and on December 3d, Col. Pierre Menard was chosen as President of the Council, and Dr. George Fisher, Speaker of the House.

The Council then elected Joseph Conray, secretary thereof, and the House of Representatives elected Daniel P. Cook, clerk thereof. Robert K. McLaughlin was elected engrossing and enrolling clerk, and Major Ezra Owen, doorkeeper.

"December 18th, the flock of 100 Merino sheep is put up at a lottery, at Goshen, Ill., tickets on sale at this office, and at several stores in St. Louis."

Want of time has prevented further extracts, but perhaps this article is already too long. Should it be deemed of public interest, further quotations may be published in future volumes.

FORGOTTEN STATESMEN OF ILLINOIS—HON. JOHN McLEAN;—HON. THOMAS SLOO;—HON. CHARLES SLADE.

Hon. John McLean.

The dedicatory exercises of the McLean memorial tablet took place Dec. 6, 1898, at which time the McLean County Board of Supervisors, with the McLean County Historical Society, held public exercises in the court house. Mr. George P. Davis, president of the McLean County Historical Society, presided, and gave a short introductory address.

Hon. LaFayette Funk of the board of supervisors delivered an appropriate address, in behalf of the board and the Hon. James S. Ewing, who read General McClernand's letter, added some very interesting remarks. Mr. J H. Burnham read the McLean County Historical Society's memorial to John McLean, which is published in this volume.

The memorial tablet was placed on the south wall of the east entrance to the first story of the court house. It is of bronze, three feet in height and four feet in width. It cost $160 and of this the county paid $125, and the McLean County Historical Society $35. It is considered highly artistic, and the placing of this tablet has given great satisfaction to the public. The tablet was not injured in the great fire of June 19, 1900.

It has recently been placed in the new court house.

The article which follows, though re-written to some extent since its publication a few months ago by the McLean County Historical Society, contains much that was given on Dec. 6, 1898.

U. S. SENATOR JOHN M'LEAN.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Illinois.*

It is almost impossible for those who have grown up to manhood or womanhood under recent conditions, to understand the environments existing in this State over 50 years ago, while to estimate the conditions prevalent 80 years ago, is still more difficult. There was

*Authorities consulted—Governor Reynold's "My Own Times," Moses' History of Illinois, Davidson and Stuve's History of Illinois, Ford's History of Illinois, Congressional Record, Illinois Territorial Records, Chicago Historical Society Vol. III, Illinois Gazette of Shawneetown, and persons whose names are given in various notes herewith published.

The John McLean memorial tablet, in the Court House of McLean County.

then an utter absence of all historical publications, none of our great standard historians having become famous, while the daily newspaper was scarcely in existence west of the Alleghanies, and the weekly newspaper of new states like Indiana, Missouri and Illinois, were of diminutive size, containing the most meagre information concerning public measures and public men. It was most emphatically the day of stump speeches and of personal intercourse between statesmen and the general public.

The meagre details relating to the early great men of Illinois now to be found in the few files of old newspapers extant, fall far short of furnishing enough information to gratify our curiosity, and we are forced to investigate closely in order to obtain anything like an accurate understanding of the capacities and characters of our early statesmen.

The great county of McLean was named for one of the ablest men the State of Illinois had produced up to the date of its organization, and its present citizens have hitherto been unable to learn as much as they would like to know in relation to the individual whose name is inseparably connected with the name of our home, and the present article is an effort to throw some light upon the history of the Hon. John McLean.

The Hon. E. B. Washburne, in a sketch prepared for the Chicago Historical Society, says:

"Perhaps less is known at the present day of John McLean than any other public man of his day, who occupied such a distinguished position. His name and memory seems to have almost died out in the State, and it is now practically impossible to gather much of his personal history."

This is an effort to bring together in a reliable shape all of the most important facts of his public and personal history with a view to their preservation for the use of those of our future generations who may be most likely to be interested in their possession.

John McLean was born in North Carolina, Feb. 4, 1791. His father emigrated to Logan county, Ky., when his son was 4 years old, and was able to give him but a limited education. He was a blood relation to the well known Ewing family which originated in Pennsylvania. The famous Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, descended from this stock. A branch of the family emigrated to North Carolina from Pennsylvania, and from these descended the Ewings of Kentucky and of this section. John McLean was related to the Hon. Wm. Lee D. Ewing, one of the early distinguished men of this State, and this gentleman was a second cousin to the father of the Hon. James S. Ewing of this city, (Bloomington Ill.) and thus we trace a local relationship to the man whose memory we are honoring today.

It would be interesting could we possess a full genealogy of the McLean family and it is quite probable that future researches will reveal all of the desired information.

McLean county does not carry off all the honors of the family name of McLean, as is shown by the following extract from the history of Hamilton county, Ill., whose county seat is named McLeansboro. "The first house in McLeansboro was a log one built by Dr. William B. McLean, a brother of John McLean of Shawneetown."

The McLean family has been more honored in Illinois than has been generally known in this region, as its local historians have never been informed of the fraternal relationship existing between McLean county and McLeansboro.

When John McLean was 24 years old, having studied law, he emigrated from Logan county, Ky., to Shawneetown, Ill., settling there in 1815 and there he was admitted to the bar in 1816.

Shawneetown was then the commercial and political rival of Kaskaskia, and the two towns were the most important in the Territory of Illinois. He at once took a high position at the bar, so high that in 1818*, soon after his admission to the bar of the territory, he was appointed to one of the judgeships of its highest court, and he declined the appointment. This declination is quite good evidence that the ambitious young man at that time had very high aims, as we find that on the admission of Illinois into the Union a few months later, he was candidate for the honorable position of Representative to Congress.

History informs us that the canvass was one of the most exciting ever known in this State. The great Missouri question was then looming up and a far more important local question was beginning to absorb public attention, which was the question of slavery or freedom for the State of Illinois, and which came to a head six years later in the famous convention campaign of 1824.

McLean's opponent was the famous Daniel P. Cook. The latter was not in favor of slavery in Illinois, but Mr. McLean, being a native of the slave states, was conscientiously and honestly a pro-slavery man. Both of these gentlemen were remarkably eloquent, and both were among the intellectual giants of these days.

Hon. E. B. Washburne says:

"Of all the early settlers of Illinois the names of three men will always stand out pre-eminent, John McLean, Benjamin Mills and Daniel P. Cook, all dying young, but leaving memories worthy to be cherished by every loyal son of our state."

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*Mr. McLean must have given brilliant promise as a lawyer, for we are told in the Illinois Territorial records that on January 13, 1818, less than a year before Illinois Territory became a State, that John McLean was appointed judge of the "eastern circuit," which appointment he declined. When it is considered that he was admitted to the Territorial bar in 1816, and the had barely two years' practice, it will be seen that he must have been thought to be a remarkably promising young lawyer. The fact that he declined the appointment, may be taken as a proof that his prospects of being elected Congressman in the coming State election, were deemed by himself of more importance than the legal promotion offered.

His military record in the "Indian wars" with General Jackson, mentioned by his kinsman, the Hon. J. D. Walker, published herewith, is perhaps accessible, but the writer is not at present able to present the record. There is some proof that this record was credible, as I find from the Territorial Records that Aug. 22, 1817, he was appointed captain of the company of artillery attached to the Second bridade.

Illinois had been admitted into the Union as a free State, but a very large proportion of its inhabitants were of the opinion that, taking everything into account, it would be to the interest of this State to cast its fortunes with Kentucky and the southern states. The question, in one form and another, agitated our pioneers till after the famous campaign of 1824, and it was the principal question before the public in the canvass between Cook and McLean in 1818. Moses' history of Illinois has this to say of the contest:

"McLean was on the side of slavery and Cook on that of freedom. both being singularly well equipped by study, experience and inclination for public debate and each of them feeling confident in the justice of his respective side, joint discussions were held by them in all of the principal counties. Hon. Orlando B. Ficklin, who heard these, as also, many years afterwards, the debates between Lincoln and Douglas, involving the same question, 'awarded the palm' for oratory and interest to the former. McLean, though of lighter complexion, was said to resemble the great Charles Fox in person, and in his style of oratory."

The short hand reporter and the big blanket sheet newspaper were not on hand during their great debate, and we shall never be able to do more than vainly attempt to imagine how these able men handled the great question, but it is entirely safe to assume that its treatment was not hollow and superficial.

Mr. McLean triumphed at the election by 14 votes. His term in Congress lasted only from December, 1818, to March 3, 1819, but during this time he cast several votes on the side of slavery in the preliminary questions which were being acted upon in Congress, and we might also state that he was defeated for Congress at the next two elections by D. P. Cook, who voted in Congress against the Missouri compromise of 1820, and who in 1824 cast the vote of Illinois for John Quincy Adams for President, by which act Cook's popularity suffered so severely that he was unable to secure another re-election.

On Mr. McLean's return from Congress, in 1819, he returned to the bar of Shawneetown, but was elected to the Legislature in 1820, where he served as speaker in the Second General Assembly and from all accounts, must have been about the ablest politician in the young State.

That he was more than a mere politician, and was also a statesman, we have the best proof possible in the following extract from Moses' History of Illinois:

"The most exciting subject of discussion was the law to incorporate a State bank. The times were hard. Over trading and speculating induced by the too abundant issue of paper currency by the banks of adjoining states had brought every one into debt. To provide a way to escape the existing evils, the Legislature chartered the State bank. There was strenuous opposition to the bill, led by Speaker McLean. By a singular provision of the rules the Speaker

was not permitted to participate in the debates except when the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole; nor, indeed to vote on any question except when a tie occurred. In order to deprive the eloquent Speaker from exposing the objectionable features of the proposed measure, the House, which contained an assured majority in its favor, refused to go into a committee of the whole. McLean, indignant at such treatment, resigned his position, and upon the floor of the House, made a powerful argument against the bill, in which he prophetically predicted all of the evils which ultimately resulted from the operations of the bank. But the bill passed, nevertheless, and when the council of revision returned it, pointing out the objections to its provisions, and showing how it was inexpedient and unconstitutional, it was again enacted by the requisite majority."

The references made to his debate with Daniel P. Cook and this evidence of his standing in the second General Assembly, sufficiently prove that Mr. McLean was one of the great men of the early days of Illinois, and we must always lament the fact that the newspapers of that day were so small as to be unable to hand down to posterity the glowing words of him whose memory we wish to preserve and perpetuate.

The subsequent history of the failure of this State bank and of the distress it brought upon the people of Illinois is positive proof of the statesmanship of Mr. McLean in his vigorous but fruitless opposition to the bank.

Mr. McLean remained out of the Legislature for a few years, but we may be sure he was no idler. He took a leading part in the great slavery contest in 1824, being on the pro-slavery side, which was defeated. From all that we can now learn of this historical contest it was the most excited and bitter ever known in Illinois.

Governor Reynolds, in "My Own Times", says:

"Men, women and children entered the arena of party warfare and strife; and the families and neighborhoods were so divided and furious and bitter against one another, that it seemed a regular civil war might be the result. Many personal conflicts were indulged in on the question, and the whole country seemed at times to be ready and willing to resort to physical force to decide the contest."

Notwithstanding the bitterness engendered in the great campaign of 1824, we find Mr. McLean emerged from the strife with almost the universal good will of both parties, which may be taken as an evidence that the public gave him credit for favoring slavery purely from what might be called honestly mistaken views of its expediency.

This is fully proven by the fact that in the fall of 1824, on the eve of all this excitement, when the Legislature balloted for United States senator to fill the short term caused by the resignation of Senator, formerly Governor Edwards, McLean was chosen on the third ballot. This Legislature was fresh from the great slavery and presidential contest of 1824, during which Mr. McLean had been one

of the most active and eloquent of the pro-slavery orators, but there appears to have been but little opposition to his election. He went to Washington at once, and served from Dec. 20, 1824, to March 3, 1825. There was a senator to be elected at the same time for the long term of six years, and we are told that Senator McLean was also a candidate for that position, but being absent on duty in the United States Senate, his friends were not able to rally enough strength for his election and the position was secured by Elias Kent Kane. Of Mr. McLean's senatorial career we have little report, but it was entirely satisfactory to his constituents.

While he was in Washington on this service, the presidential election of 1824, when there was no choice of the people, came to a head by the election in February, 1825, by the National House of Representatives, of John Quincy Adams. Illinois had given one electoral vote to Adams and two to Jackson. Daniel P. Cook, in the House, now cast the vote of the State of Illinois for Adams, thereby making it the thirteenth state to vote for Adams, exactly a majority of the states, and thus electing Adams. The excitement must have been tremendous and we obtain a glimpse of the indignation of such an intense Jackson man as was Mr. McLean, by the following brief item which he sent to the Shawneetown paper, the Illinois Gazette:

"SENATE CHAMBER, Feb. 9, 1825.

"SIR—The votes for president are as follows: 'Mr. Adams, the six New England States, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama and Kentucky.' He is elected. The mail starts. I have time to write no more. Great God deliver us.

"JOHN MCLEAN."

It will be remembered that when the electoral vote of 1824 was returned, there were four candidates, Adams, Clay, Jackson and Crawford, neither one of whom had a majority.

It then devolved upon the House of Representatives at its meeting in February, 1825, to vote for president by states, as required by the constitution. Illinois was one of the small states in the House, having but one vote, that of its representative, the Hon. Daniel P. Cook.

It happened that the vote of Illinois made John Quincy Adams president, and this vote having been cast by one man, it must certainly have happened that the excitement was most tremendous, and there is no wonder that in the days when there was no telegraph, Mr. McLean was exceedingly anxious to mail the earliest possible news to his home newspaper, the Shawneetown Gazette.

It may be proper to add that the people of Illinois were too friendly to Jackson to entirely forgive Mr. Cook for his vote, and he was defeated at the next election. His death occurred Oct. 16, 1827, while he was still a young man.

His name was given to Cook county, Jan. 15, 1831, almost a year after McLean county was organized, and we thus find the names of

these two great political rivals attached, the one to the most wealthy and populous county in the State, and the other to the most fertile and the largest in territory.

On Mr. McLean's return to Illinois in 1825, he was elected to the Legislature from Gallatin county for two terms in succession and during both of these terms he was speaker of the house. Here he was one of the most influential and valuable members, as we have the most abundant testimony. Ex-Governor Reynolds, who served at the same time, gives him high credit, most especially for his share in the revision and adoption of the laws of 1827, which all old lawyers know was a remarkable work to be performed by a legislative body in the time of an ordinary session, and this volume of the laws is in part one of the existing evidences of the ability of John McLean.

Governor Reynolds, in "My Own Times", gives an amusing incident showing evidence of McLean's influence as follows:

"In the legislature of 1826 and 1827, a county was organized, embracing the mining district, which was called Jo Daviess county, I proposed the name of Daviess in the General Assembly, and John McLean, with much Kentucky enthusiasm, added the name of Jo to it, and it succeeded. It could not be severed in that legislature, as we tried it often."

The county was named in honor of Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daviess, of Kentucky, who fell at the battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811.

But two men have ever been speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives for three terms; they are William Lee D. Ewing and John McLean.

Correspondence published in the transactions of the Chicago Historical Society and other sources of information too lengthy for quotation, prove that Speaker McLean was actively engaged in pushing his canvass for election to the position of United States senator when the next vacancy should occur. He had set his heart on winning this prize, and this canvass was watched with deep interest by his political friends and enemies. Public sentiment had by this time become overwhelmingly in favor of General Jackson, and Mr. McLean's services in behalf of his party were unquestioned.

We can form a good estimate of the strength of Mr. McLean at this period, the crowning point of his influence on Illinois politics, by the simple announcement that when the legislature met in the fall of 1829, it unanimously elected him United States senator for the term of six years from the 6th day of December, 1829. This unanimous election is an honor never before nor since conferred on any other Illinoisan and of itself proves his high standing in the public estimation. But it seems disease was wasting his strength,

and after the close of the long session May 31, 1830, he came home to Shawneetown, where he died Oct. 14, 1830, in the fortieth year of his life.

On the 9th day of December, 1830, his colleague in the United States Senate, Hon. Elias Kent Kane, pronounced his eulogy, in the course of which he said:

"In private life he was remarkable for his benevolence, frankness and independence of character. No one in the circle in which he moved had a larger share of the confidence and affection of his fellow men. He was by profession a lawyer, possessed of a vigorous mind, and a rapid but easy elocution. These qualifications, added to honesty of purpose universally accorded to him, raised him to the front rank of his profession and there sustained him. As a statesman, the people of Illinois would long remember him as the author of the most valued portions of their statute books, and as the able and acute presiding officer over the most numerous branch of their legislature."

Ex-Governor Reynolds, in his book, contended that no man in Illinois before or since his day surpassed him in pure, natural eloquence.

He describes him as "a man of gigantic mind, of noble and manly form, and a lofty, dignified bearing. His person was large, and formed on that natural excellence which at once attracted the attention and admiration of all beholders. The vigor and compass of his mind was exceedingly great and his eloquence flowed in torrents, deep, strong, and almost irresistible."

No wonder that when the legislature assembled a few weeks after his death, presided over by Hon. Wm. L. D. Ewing, his immediate friend and relative, it was easily influenced by the speaker to bestow this loved name upon the large new county to be organized in this region.

Tradition informs us that our pioneers had decided to name this county for Judge Hendricks, of Indiana, but through Mr. Ewing's influence and advice, they accepted the name so greatly desired by the many friends of the late Senator McLean.

Much that pertains to this portion of our subject relates more strictly to the history of McLean county, and little more need be added in this connection It should be stated, however, that the city of Shawneetown, where Senator McLean lived, holds his memory in grateful recollection. His body is buried on the high ground, about two miles from the ill-fated city, where may be found the following inscription on the slab over his vault:

IN MEMORY

OF

JOHN McLEAN.

Born in North Carolina February 4, 1791. He was raised and educated in Kentucky, whence he emigrated to Illinois in 1815, where he held a conspicuous stand at the bar, and in society, for talents and a generous and amiable nature. A representative and senator in the congress of the United States from Illinois; he died while in the latter office, October 14, 1830, lamented by all.

Death loves a shining mark, a signal blow;
A blow, which, while it executes, alarms,
And startles thousands with a single fall.

—*Young.*

He was buried among a number of noted men of southern Illinois, such as General Posey, who was aide to General Washington, and was United States Senator of Louisiana, and Governor of the northwestern territory—Illinois, Indiana, etc., etc., also Judge Hardin, John Marshall, Henry Eddy, and many others.

Owing to ill health and worse weather, Gen. John A. McClernand could not be present. The following extract is from his letter, read by Hon. J. S. Ewing:

"Mr. McLean emigrated from Kentucky to the Territory of Illinois and settled in Shawneetown in 1815, where he began the practice of his profession as a lawyer, residing there for 15 years, and until his untimely death in 1830. He and I were contemporary residents of Shawneetown for 15 years. I often saw him in my boyhood and afterward formed an acquaintance with him.

"His personality interested and impressed me. The image of it still lingers in my memory. Physically he was well developed, tall, strong and stately. When walking the streets his admiring observers would whisper 'there goes the great lawyer, the great orator.' His confident step and appearance denoted him a man of energy and decision.

"Socially he was affable and genial; his conversation sparkled with wit and humor. He married an educated and accomplished young lady in Kentucky a short time before his death.

"Mr. McLean was not an academic scholar. During his early life there were no common schools in Kentucky or Illinois, and there was not a college in all Illinois. His only resource for instruction was the wandering pedagogue and his own assiduity. Like many others he was for the most part self-educated, not a few of whom rank among the most learned of the ages.

"As a lawyer, Mr. McLean was both analytic and logical, combining argument with extraordinary eloquence. He was persuasive with the judge and well nigh resistless with the jury. In his profession he was eminently successful. The compensation it brought would have enriched him but for his exceeding liberality toward his friends and the needy. His mind was practical as well as creative and versatile. The union of these qualities marks the distinction of the great leaders of human progress and amelioration.

"Mr. McLean was an actor on the public stage in Illinois for 15 years. He led a political movement in Illinois which on the wider stage of the nation resulted in the reorganization of political parties and the election of General Jackson to the presidency. What must have been the energy and influence he contributed in the effectuation of so stupendous a result? Alas! He died with the harness of public duty upon him. He died while comparatively young, realizing the fate which so often overtakes the brave, the active and inspiring. Peace to his ashes; honor to his memory.

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND."

LETTER FROM J. B. BARGER.

SHAWNEETOWN, March 8, 1896.

J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.

DEAR SIR—Your letter of March 3 is at hand and read. My recollection of John McLean was on his little farm when he kept his horses and hounds and had a man hired to take care of his horses and hounds. He did not, as I ever knew, hunt with a gun; it was for chasing with hounds. My recollection is, he was a lawyer; but I have no recollection of his practicing law. We did not have any court house in Shawneetown, the courts were held in a warehouse. Since writing you before, it came to my mind that General John A. McClernand of Springfield, Illinois, was raised here and knew John McLean. He is older than I am and can possibly give you more information than I can. He was spoken of in best terms by everybody who knew him. He never went out of the county hunting as I ever knew. President John Cook, of the University of Normal, always reminded me when I met him, of John McLean—quick action and speech; but McLean was not so fleshy.

I don't know of any other person now living that knew him but General McClernand.

Yours respectfully,

J. B. BARGER.

Letter from Hon. J. M. Eddy, a son of Henry Eddy, who published a paper at Shawneetown, Ill., as early as 1817, called the Illinois Emigrant, and who also published other newspapers at an early day. Some of these papers are preserved to the present time. Mr. Eddy furnished information from these old files:

SHAWNEETOWN, ILL., Nov. 19, 1896.

J. H. Burnham, Esq., Bloomington, Ill.

DEAR SIR—I will give you my impressions of the personality of Judge McLean, which were formed by conversing with many people who knew him well, while I was a youth from 10 to 15 years of age. My father bought our old homestead from Judge McLean, and moved his family on to it in 1832, when I was but 2 years old, and I spent the early part of my life there among the country people, several of whom were tenants on the place and so remained for several years.

From these and others living in the neighborhood, I got the impression that he had the happy faculty of adapting himself to the ways and customs of all sorts of people. For instance: When overworked or depressed in spirits he would go out onto his farm where a Mr. Holly kept for him a pack of hounds and spend a week or more hunting foxes, in which sport the whole neighborhood joined.

He would go to all the log rollings, corn huskings, house raisings and country frolics, and would make a full hand at any or all of them. I have heard these people tell how he would beat all comers at running, jumping, wrestling, and lifting; and he would, to use a modern phrase, "just turn himself loose." In fact the people almost worshiped him. All this, I think, accounts for his great popularity among the plain people. When at home, though, he was an entirely different man. There he was the personification of dignity and courtesy, rarely unbending, never harsh or cruel or insulting, a perfect Chesterfield in courtly manner to all.

Yours truly,

JOHN M. EDDY.

LETTER FROM HON. J. D. WALKER.

FAYETTEVILLE, ARK., Dec. 10, 1898.

Capt. J. H. Burnham, Bloomington, Ill.:

DEAR SIR—I read with great pleasure a special to the St. Louis Republic of the 7th inst., a notice of the proceedings of the McLean County Historical Society in reference to the memory of John McLean, and extracts from your address on that occasion.

Allow me to express to you my sincere thanks and gratitude, as he was my uncle, the oldest brother of my mother, who was the wife of Col. J. V. Walker, late of Logan county, Kentucky.

He came from Logan county, Kentucky, to Shawneetown, according to the family record. The father and mother of John McLean, Ephriam McLean and Elizabeth Byert, the former of North Carolina and the latter of York district, South Carolina, were married in 1788, and emigrated to Kentucky in 1796, when John McLean must have been a small boy, and settled about 12 miles west of Russellville, Logan county, Kentucky, where in 1803, my mother, Susan Howard McLean, was born. The father of John McLean, Rev. Ephriam McLean, according to the history of the C. P. church was its first ordained minister. The McLean record further states, that "the oldest son John, after returning from Indian wars under General Jackson, studied law under the instruction of Judge McLean in Greeneville, Kentucky, and settled in Shawneetown to practice law when Illinois was a territory."

My grandmother fondly cherished the memory of her son and often exhibited presents made by him when in Congress.

Should you meet Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, who I believe still resides in your city, present my regards. I knew him when in Congress.

Again thanking you,

I am truly and respectfully,

J. D. WALKER.

P. S.—It may be of interest to state that the grandfather of John McLean, Charles McLean, came from Scotland to North Carolina in 1750, and was a major in the American army in the Revolutionary War. J. D. W.

[J. H. B.]

THOMAS SLOO.

Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Among the public men of prominence in Illinois in the first decade following its admission into the Union, was Thomas Sloo. Such, however, is the evanescence of human fame that all of his history that survived the lapse of time since his departure from the State, three-quarters of a century ago, until very recently, was his name and the recorded facts that he was at one time a State Senator, and was defeated in 1826 for the office of Governor of Illinois by Ninian Edwards.

In searching out his genealogy the first one of his name discovered was a native of Wales who accompanied Sir Phillip Sidney when appointed governor of Flushing by Queen Elizabeth in 1585 and fought the Spaniards with him in the Low countries in defense of the Hollanders, then the allies of England At some time in the first third of the seventeenth century the descendants of that ancestor left Holland with other emigrants and settled on Manhattan island, now New York city. Thomas Sloo's father, also named Thomas, and his grandfather, William Sloo, who married Charity Benson and lived in New York city in 1771-1774, were soldiers in the

Revolutionary War, and are said to have done valiant service under Anthony Wayne in the recapture of Stony Point from the British on July 16, 1779.

After the Revolutionary struggle was ended, Thomas Sloo, having married Elizabeth Roe, migrated from New York to Pittsburg, Pa. There he and wife joined a party of emigrants in charge of General Guinot and proceeded, in keel boats, to Cincinnati; but the Indians there were so troublesome he did not remain long, and crossing the Ohio over to Kentucky, settled in Mason county and built the first house in Limestone, where Maysville now stands—probably on a land grant obtained from the government for his services in the Colonial army. Daniel Boone was an early resident of Maysville, first settled by Mr. Sloo, and they were intimate acquaintances. In Collins' "History of Kentucky," describing Washington, "the oldest town in then Bourbon, now Mason county it is stated, "in 1790, by amended act, the boundaries of the town were described, and Alex. D. Orr, Thomas Sloo and Richard Corwine made trustees in place of Daniel Boone and Edward Waller, who had removed from the country." Mr. Sloo, removing from Maysville became one of the earliest residents of the town of Washington, and there his son, Thomas Sloo, Jr., was born on the 5th of April, 1790. Among his other children born there also, were Albert Gallatin Sloo and James C. Sloo.

The boyhood of Thomas Sloo, Jr., the subject of this sketch, was passed principally at school, resulting in the acquirement of as liberal an education as could be obtained in the rural districts of Kentucky in that era. But before his school days were ended he was left an orphan with the care of the younger children of the family. He thereupon went to Cincinnati and engaged in merchandising, in which he prospered. There, on the 14th of July, 1814, he was united in marriage to Miss Harriet Irwin, who was born at Mercersburg, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1792. Though young in years, Mr Sloo occupied a very prominent social position in his new home and was on terms of intimate friendship with Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, who was often a guest at his residence. But, too soon, he was overwhelmed by heavy misfortunes.

In about a year after their marriage his young wife died and was consigned to the grave in one of the Cincinnati cemeteries, leaving an infant that survived her but a short time. Time having measurably assuaged his grief, he again tried the matrimonial lottery on the 25th of August, 1819, leading to the altar his second bride, Miss Rebecca Smith Findlay, also a native of Franklin county, Pennsylvania, born there in 1795. About that time the financial stringency of 1818 and 1819 set in, causing Mr. Sloo such serious reverses in business that he was compelled to close his store and retire.

Having liquidated in full all of his liabilities, Mr. Sloo, in 1819, changed his location from Cincinnati to Shawneetown, Illinois, where he remained but a short time, and moved to the western part of White county, in which the formation of a new county was being agitated. The act of the legislature organizing that new county,

Thomas Sloo, candidate for Governor of Illinois, 1826.

named Hamilton, was passed on the 15th of February, 1821, and in the selection of officers to start its legal machinery, Mr. Sloo was elected county surveyor. In that capacity he surveyed and platted McLeansboro, its county seat, the place he had chosen for his future home. He there again established himself in the mercantile business and also in farming, with great success, and soon, by his genial disposition and uprightness of character, became one of the most popular men in that part of the State.

In 1822 he was elected to represent Hamilton and Jefferson counties in the State Senate, and in the memorable session of the Legislature following was one of the twelve senators who voted for the convention resolution, the other six senators opposing it. He also supported the convention scheme at the State election in 1824. In that course he was consistent, having been born, reared and educated in a slave state. But the fact that the overwhelming defeat of the slavery convention at the polls served to increase the popularity of the public men who favored it and labored for it, is one of the strangest anomalies in Illinois history. The two United States senators next elected, John McLean and Elias K Kane, were perhaps the ablest and most uncompromising leaders of the slavery party, and in the legislative reorganization of the judiciary at the same session a majority of the judges selected were among its most prominent supporters.

As evidence of Mr. Sloo's prominence among the public men of Illinois at that time it may be stated that four votes were cast for him for United States Senator on Nov. 30, 1824, when Elias K. Kane was elected by joint ballot of the Legislature.

Congress having granted to Illinois in 1823 permission to construct a canal connecting the Illinois river and Lake Michigan, the Legislature provided for a board of canal commissioners to consider ways and means to accomplish the work. That first canal board consisted of Emanual J. West, Erastus Brown, Thomas Sloo, Theophilus W. Smith and Samuel Alexander.

When the term of Governor Coles was nearing its close and the choosing of his successor was discussed among the people, Gov. Ninian Edwards, as early as June, 1825, announced himself a candidate and began making an active canvass of the State. The lieutenant governor of the Cole's administration, a freak named Augustus Frederick Hubbard of Shawneetown, also announced himself a solicitor for the position. Urged by his friends who favored neither Edwards nor Hubbard, Mr. Sloo consented to enter the contest for the high honor. What effort he made to succeed is now not known. Though locally very popular, and a fair speaker, of fine appearance, his acquaintance throughout the northern and western portions of the State was very limited. A writer in the (Vandalia) Illinois Intelligencer of July 6, 1826, a month before the election, said, among other things:

"It is true that, like most of us in Illinois, Mr. Sloo was, at an early age, thrown upon the world without the advantages of education, or of pecuniary means, since which time he has depended upon his

own exertions and his own industry. If he has any reputation, or property, it is alone the reward that awaits the exertions of an industrious and honest man. It is equally true, that in the general wreck of 1818 and 1819, Mr. Sloo was unfortunate in business, in Cincinnati; but I have yet to hear the first reproach cast upon his character in consequence of his misfortune. That Mr. Sloo came among us poor, is well known to all his acquaintances in this country; but by his industry on his farm, together with some public services performed, he has not only been able to support his family genteelly, but to better his condition in a pecuniary point of view."

From this communication it must be inferred that Mr. Sloo was a farmer and not a merchant; but Governor Reynolds, who knew him well, says in his "Life and Times," in writing of that contest for the governorship: "In this canvass, three candidates appeared in the field—Ninian Edwards, Thomas Sloo and A. F. Hubbard. The last named candidate had been elected Lieutenant Governor, and he supposed it was a matter of course to elect him Governor."

"The contest was between the two first named candidates. Mr. Sloo had been a member of the General Assembly for four years, and was a gentleman of agreeable manners and irreproachable character. He had by his urbanity of manners and gentlemanly deportment obtained many friends throughout the State. He had been employed in business as a merchant, and in it he had not been in the habit of public speaking, which operated against him, particularly when Governor Edwards was his opponent, as Edwards was an accomplished orator."

"The Jackson party, which was then not properly organized, supported Sloo. If the party had been trained then, as it was some years afterwards, Sloo no doubt would have been elected."

At the election in August, 1826, Governor Edwards was elected by a small majority, defeating Mr. Sloo by a less number of votes than Hubbard received, leaving room for speculation as to what the result might have been had Hubbard, from a county adjoining Mr. Sloo's, not been in the way.

The votes cast were 6,280 for Edwards, 5,834 for Sloo, and 580 for Hubbard.

Disgusted with public life by his defeat, and desiring a more extended business field, Mr. Sloo disposed of his property in Illinois in 1828 and moving to New Orleans there engaged in the commission business, in which he continued with success for the succeeding twenty years. A few years before the expiration of that period his happiness was again clouded by the death of his wife. Of the children born to them none lived to be grown. Depressed by his domestic misfortunes, and weary of his long years of slavish application to the same occupation, to effect a change he closed out his interests in New Orleans in 1848 and sought a new home and new associations in Havana, Cuba.

There he found employment, both pleasant and profitable, in establishing a gas plant for lighting the city. And there also he embarked on a third matrimonial venture by wedding, on the 24th of May, 1849, Miss Maria Frances Campbell, who was born in South Carolina in 1826. She was the daughter of Robert Blair Campbell, who was for several terms in Congress a Representative of South Carolina and then of Alabama, and of Mary Ann Lee, his wife, the daughter of Ludwell Lee and grand-daughter of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. After a few years residence in Havana, Mr. Sloo returned to New Orleans and remained there the balance of his life. Shortly after his arrival in the Crescent city he was chosen president of the Sun Mutual Insurance company, and remained with it until his death, which occurred in New Orleans on the 17th of January, 1879, at the ripe age of 88 years, 9 months and 12 days. Twenty-two years later Mrs. Sloo departed this life, on Jan. 17, 1901, aged 75 years. Six children survived her, of whom three are still living, namely, Maria Frances, widow of Dr. John Bridges Johnson, Laura Campbell, wife of Charles M. Whitney, and Thomas Sloo.

While at the head of the Sun Mutual Insurance company, Mr. Sloo served several years as city treasurer of New Orleans and as a member of the board of education from the organization of the city public schools to about the year 1860. In stature he was a striking figure, tall, thin and erect, with dark silky hair (when young), and dark eyes and kind, benevolent expression of face. He was always clean shaven, neatly dressed, with courtly, dignified manner and affable disposition. To the last he retained the attire of the old school gentleman of the preceding century, habitually wearing a high silk hat, dress coat and stock. He was very prominent in religious and charitable organizations and was for many years a member of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal church. Though he voted for the convention resolution when a State Senator in the Third General Assembly of Illinois, and was classed with the pro-slavery party, he would never own slaves; his last wife, however, was a slave owner when he married her and retained her house servants until the Civil war emancipated them.

When he was a candidate for Governor political parties were not well defined in Illinois, and all three of the candidates were professedly Jackson men. The followers of Adams in the State were in such a hopeless minority that none of them qualified for the higher offices would consent to offer themselves as candidates for them. Consequently Jackson men, of different degrees of Jacksonism, antagonized each other in the scramble for office. Governor Edwards was a "milk and cider," or very moderate adherent of "Old Hickory," while Mr. Sloo was a "whole hog" Jacksonian, as was also Mr. Hubbard. While a resident of New Orleans Mr. Sloo, probably still a Democrat, took no active part in politics and, before the civil war, paid but little attention to parties and elections. After the civil war, however, though still not a politician, he was a decided and outspoken Democrat.

The New Orleans Picayune of Jan. 18, 1879, the day following Mr. Sloo's death, contained the following obituary notice:

THOMAS SLOO.

This old and respected citizen passed away yesterday at the ripe age of 89, leaving an interesting family and a large circle of friends to mourn his loss.

Mr. Sloo was born in Washington, Mason county, Ky., April 5, 1790. At an early age he removed to Cincinnati, where he remained until 1820, when he removed to Illinois to engage in agricultural pursuits. Taking a lively interest in public affairs, he was several times elected to the Legislature of that State. On one occasion he was nominated as candidate for Governor in opposition to the celebrated Ninian Edwards. In 1828 he came to New Orleans and established himself as a commission merchant, maintaining a high reputation for honor and integrity. For several years he filled the responsible office of city treasurer, and served as a school director from the organization of the city schools until the war. When the Sun Mutual Insurance Company was incorporated Mr. Sloo was selected as its first president, a position he filled with fidelity and ability until advancing years compelled him to retire from its arduous duties, retaining, through the liberality of the directory, a handsome pension.

No man was more remarkable for courtly manner, uniform politeness and eminent purity. In his long life no one was ever heard to utter a word against his character. In religion he was a strict Episcopalian, being a regular attendant at St. Paul's church, also filling, we believe, a place in its vestry for a number of years.

Mr. Sloo belonged to a class of men rapidly passing away. He was trained in the old school, and was as courteous to a beggar as to a millionaire.

His funeral will take place from St. Paul's church this afternoon at 3 o'clock."

Two brothers of Mr. Sloo are known to have settled in the west about the time he came to Illinois, but of his other brothers and sisters, all trace is now lost.

Albert Gallatin Sloo was an extensive farmer near Vincennes, Ind., and became quite wealthy with large interest in shipping and other branches of business in New York City.

James C. Sloo was for some time one of the principal merchants of Alton, at the head of the firm of Sloo & Co., a firm mentioned in some of the Illinois histories as having, with other Alton firms, Godfrey, Gilman & Co., and Stone, Manning & Co., borrowed large sums of money from the State Bank to "corner" the output of all the Galena lead mines and incidentally "boom" Alton in its rivalry with St. Louis for commercial supremacy in the west. James C. Sloo subsequently located in Cairo, Ills., and, it is said, the indebtedness of his Alton firm to the State Bank was settled by his brother, Albert Gallatin Sloo.

J. F. S.

CHARLES SLADE.

Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Of the stature and personal appearance of Hon. Charles Slade absolutely nothing is now known. The most diligent inquiries among the oldest settlers of Clinton county have failed to reveal anything of his features, temperament, disposition, or other individual characteristics.

It is known that he was a native of England, and was brought to the United States when quite young by his parents who settled in Alexandria, Va. There he grew up to manhood, and acquired a fair common school education, together with habits of thrift and industry. In 1816, with two brothers, Richard and Thomas, he came west in search of a country more fertile than the gravelly Potomac hills, that might offer better opportunities for aspiring enterprise than did the Old Dominion. They were all three young unmarried men; Richard and Thomas remaining single all their lives. Captivated by the picturesque beauty of the romantic Okaw, and the richness of the soil through which it meanders, they pitched their camp in the eastern part of (then) St. Clair county, where the town of Carlyle was, in 1824, founded by Charles Slade. Having brought with them some means, the three brothers purchased land, or land claims, and were among the earliest pioneer settlers of that locality. Charles Slade bought the claim of John Hill, who entered land near by under the $2 an acre act of Congress, and set in vigorously to improving it.

John Hill, probably the first white resident of Carlyle township in Clinton county, came there in 1812. He built a block house of large logs, known to the later settlers as "Hill's fort," and established a flat-boat ferry across the Kaskaskia river not far from where the suspension bridge at Carlyle now spans it.

In their migration to Illinois the Slade brothers fell in on the way with John Kain, a native of Virginia, who had, a few years before, moved to Ohio, and was then seeking a new home farther west for himself, wife and five children. He bought land in the neighborhood of the Slades, and in time became a wealthy and substantial citizen, and died there, at an advanced age, in 1833. Charles Slade married one of his daughters, probably, in 1819.

The meagre profits of agriculture gained by the primitive methods of farming at that day, failed to satisfy Mr. Slade, and he sought other channels for the exercise of his business energies. He formed a partnership with a friend, named Hubbard, and engaged in merchandising. They built a store room not far from Hill's fort, on what is now Fairfax street in Carlyle, and were the first merchants in that section of the country. Commencing on a small scale they gradually enlarged their stock as demanded by the growing wants of the people, and for several years did a very flourishing business.

The first mill of any pretentions in that region was built by Charles Slade in 1829. It had but one run of burrs for grinding corn and wheat, and was moved by water power. Though a very modest affair

it was for that time, and for a long time, the best mill within many miles around it. In 1831 it was destroyed by fire, and immediately rebuilt by Mr. Slade, with increased capacity.

On Jan. 2, 1818, the Legislature struck off a large scope of territory from the eastern portion of St. Clair county and organized it into a new county which was named Washington—after the Father of his Country. Then on Dec. 27, 1824, it detached from the northern part of Washington a considerable district, to which it added a smaller amount taken from the southern end of Bond county, and formed another new county named Clinton—in honor of Gov. DeWitt Clinton, of New York. The act of the Legislature creating Clinton county designated Carlyle for its county seat, provided the citizens of that village would donate to the county, for public use, a tract of land of not less than 20 acres. The land required was at once donated by Charles Slade and wife, Mary D. Slade, and the deed for the same was placed on record July 4, 1825.

In a few years after Mr. Slade's arrival in Illinois he became an extensive land owner, and was one of the most prosperous and popular citizens in the southern part of the State. In 1820 he was elected a member of the lower house of the legislature, in the Second General Assembly, to represent Washington county, and was then chiefly instrumental in securing the organization of Clinton county. He was again elected to the lower house in 1826—in the Fifth General Assembly—to represent Washington and Clinton counties. On President Jackson's election, in 1828, he appointed Charles Slade United States marshal for Illinois, in which position he served for four years.

By the United States census of 1830 the population of Illinois was ascertained to number 157,445. To that time the State had but one representative in the lower house of Congress; but the largely increased population entitled it then to three. On the 13th of February, 1831, the legislature, in reapportioning the State for representation, divided it into three congressional districts. The First comprised Gallatin and Macoupin counties, and all others west of them and west of Jefferson and Montgomery counties. The Second district included all the territory in the State east of the counties named and south of Sangamon and Iroquois. All north of the two last named counties, to the Wisconsin line, constituted the Third district. Immediately after that action of the legislature aspirants began to announce themselves as candidates for Congress in the three districts. In the First district Sidney Breese, one of the most chronic office seekers of early times, as usual was the first in the field. Charles Dunn, who had twice been elected clerk of the Illinois House of Representatives and once a member of the legislature, soon announced his candidacy. Then Governor Ninian Edwards, Charles Slade, and Henry L. Webb also entered the contest. At the election, on the first Monday in August, 1832, Mr. Slade was the successful candidate, receiving 2,470 votes, to 2,078 for Governor Edwards, 1,670 for Breese, 1,020 for Dunn, and 551 for Webb. Mr.

Slade's defeat of Governor Edwards, admittedly the ablest and most brilliant public man in the State, was regarded by the people a high distinction, and gave him among politicians a position of leading prominence.

On the first Monday in December, 1833, he took his seat in the 23d Congress, and throughout the proceedings of that first session sustained himself well, guarding the interests of his constituents and State with fidelity and ability. After adjournment of Congress, on March 3, 1834, Mr. Slade spent some time attending to business in the departments at Washington, and visiting relatives and friends at Alexandria, then started on his return to Illinois about the 1st of July. At Cincinnati he was suddenly attacked with sickness, from which he soon rallied, and hastened on homeward. He had proceeded almost the entire distance across the State of Indiana when he suffered a relapse that prostrated him with all the symptoms of Asiatic cholera. In the eastern part of Knox county, at, or near, Wheatland, about 12 miles from Vincennes, the disease had made such rapid progress that he could travel no farther. In a roadside tavern, where all possible care was given him, and a physician hastily summoned to attend him, he breathed his last, on the 11th day of July, 1834. He was quickly buried there, and the exact locality of his grave is now unknown.

A year before, on the 20th day of July, 1833, his competitor in the congressional election, Governor Edwards, died of the same disease, at his home in Belleville, Ill.

Mr Slade was survived by his wife and five children, three sons and two daughters. His eldest son and daughter, long since dead, are buried at Carlyle; his youngest daughter, Virginia, is still (in 1903) living. His second son, Charles A. Slade, who married a daughter of Judge Sidney Breese, enlisted for the Mexican war in the regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers commanded by Col. E. W. B. Newby, and was made Quartermaster's Sergeant. Shortly after the arrival of the troops at Santa Fé, he was taken sick, and died there, on the 8th of June, 1847.

James Alfred Slade, youngest son of Congressman Charles Slade—made famous by Mark Twain in chapters IX, X and XI of his volume entitled, "Roughing It"—when about 22 years of age, killed a man in Carlyle and escaped arrest by flight. He made his way out of the State and to the western plains where he was employed as division superintendent by the Overland Stage company and was for some time one of their most efficient agents. Later he drifted farther west to the mountains of Montana and became the most desperate and notorious outlaw of that lawless period and region. He was credited with having committed in his time 26 murders. Defying with contempt all processes of the civil law he was finally arrested in one of his wild, reckless sprees, and on the fourth day of January, 1862, hung, by the vigilance committee of Virginia City, Madison county, Montana.

Charles Slade left a large estate much entangled by debts and complications in which his brothers and others were connected, followed by protracted litigation that absorbed the greater part of it.

His widow, a few years after his death, married Elias S. Dennis, who was several years younger than herself. From Mr. Slade's estate she secured the mill, the ferry and homestead, but died about the close of the Civil war in reduced circumstances. Dennis, a man of fair education and ability, served in both branches of the Illinois Legislature, 1842-1846, and as United States Marshal in Kansas during President Buchanan's administration. He went into the Civil war as lieutenant colonel of the 30th Illinois Infantry Volunteers, was promoted to the rank of colonel, then brigadier general and brevet major general. He died a few years ago and is buried at Carlyle.

J. F. S.

THE ATTORNEYS-GENERAL OF ILLINOIS.

Mason H. Newell.

Under the provisions of the act of Congress organizing the Territory of Illinois, (2 Stat. at large, 514) the power given to the governor of the North West Territory to appoint civil officers not specifically provided for in the ordinance of 1787, was vested in the Governor of Illinois Territory.

On July 24, 1809, Governor Edwards appointed Benjamin H. Doyle the first attorney-general to serve "during the pleasure of the Governor for the time being." Doyle had emigrated from Knox county, Tennessee, and settled at Kaskaskia in 1805. (Moses, Illinois Historical and Statistical. 237.) He practiced law in Randolph and St. Clair counties and possessed a good address, but probably busied himself too much with politics to become proficient in his profession. (Reynolds' Pioneer History, 2 Ed., 360.)

His successor, John Jourdon Crittenden, was appointed Dec. 30, 1809. He soon grew tired of frontier life, if, in fact, he ever entered the territory at all, and sent his resignation from Russellville, Kentucky, Feb. 24, 1810. (History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards, 36.)

He was born in Woodford county, Kentucky, about 1785. While he was still young his father who was a farmer, was killed by the fall of a tree, leaving the mother to bring up with slender means a large family of children, among whom several were afterward noted for intellectual ability. John commenced life as a lawyer in Hopkinsville, but soon moved to Frankfort, where he enjoyed a large practice. In 1816 he was elected from Franklin county to the Kentucky house of representatives, of which he was for several years the speaker. He took his seat in the United States Senate, Dec. 1, 1817, and served for two years. From 1819 until 1835 he practiced law at Frankfort. President John Quincy Adams nominated him for judge of the United States Supreme Court in 1828 but the Senate refused to confirm him. In 1835 he was chosen United State senator, served a full term and was re-elected but in 1841 resigned, having accepted the post of attorney-general under President Harrison. Upon the President's death he tendered his resignation to President Tyler and was elected to the senate for the residue of Mr. Clay's term, the latter having resigned. Mr. Crittenden was again re-elected for a full term from March 4, 1843. In 1848 he retired having received the Whig nomination for

Governor of Kentucky, to which office he was elected by a large majority. From July 20, 1850, until the succession of President Pierce he was attorney-general in President Fillmore's cabinet, and in 1855 was re-elected to the Senate.

As a Senator he was opposed to the expunging of the vote of censure passed upon Jackson and was one of the few southerners who opposed making Kansas a slave state. He was father of the scheme to restore the Missouri compromise and extend it to the Pacific in 1861. Although a southerner, he was not a secessionist, but was the spokesman in the Senate of a large body of loyal citizens who felt deeply that the war ought not to impinge in the least upon the great institution of the south.

He had been a great friend of Henry Clay's, but lost his favor in 1848 by failing to support him for the presidency. He was an excellent extemporaneous debater and never lost the fire and spirit of his youth.

On March 4, 1810, Mr. Crittenden sent his brother Thomas from Russellville with a letter of introduction to Governor Edwards. Thomas intended to settle at Kaskaskia for the practice of law. (History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards, 520.) On April 7, he was appointed attorney general. He resigned soon after and like his brother returned to Kentucky.

Oct. 29, 1810, the Governor appointed Benjamin M. Piatt, who in turn was succeeded by William Mears, June 23, 1813.

Mears served until Feb.17, 1818, when he was appointed judge of the Territorial circuit court, which was established by an act of that year. He was born in Ireland in 1768 and emigrated to Cahokia in 1808. Reynolds says (Pioneer History, 306) he came "as if he had dropped down from the clouds—without horse, clothes, books letters or anything except himself—a rather singular and uncouth looking Irishman." He had read law while he taught school in Pennsylvania. When the county seat was taken to Belleville from Cahokia in 1814, Mears moved with it and remained in that place during his life. He was the last Territorial Attorney General, but served a short time under the State government by appointment of the Governor in the recess of the Legislature.

Section 10 of the schedule of the Constitution of 1818 provided that " * * * "an Attorney General and such other officers for the State, as may be necessary, may be appointed by the General Assembly, whose duties may be regulated by law."

Daniel Pope Cook, the first Attorney General under the Constitution was elected by the Legislature March 5, 1819, and resigned on being elected to Congress Oct. 15, 1819. (Breese xvi) He was born in Scott county, Kentucky, in 1793. His parents were farmers and he, being a sickly and weakly child, his education was not much attended to. When a young man he visited Ste. Genevieve, Mo., and was employed as a clerk in a shop for several years. In 1813 he commenced studying law with Judge Pope in Kaskaskia and obtained his license in 1815. He moved to Washington, D. C., in 1817

and was appointed bearer of dispatches to John Quincy Adams, Minister to England. He returned with Mr. Adams and was appointed judge of the western circuit of the State in 1818. The same year he was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress against John McLean, but succeeded him in 1819 and served for nearly nine years until March, 1827.

Cook was small in stature and frail in health, but mentally he was one of the strongest men of his day. He was a modest diffident man with a soft melodious voice and a ready fluent speech. His style of dress was faultless and charmingly neat. As a criminal lawyer he had no superior at the early Illinois bar. Reynolds says that he was at one time the idol and darling of the people, so that many an old time pioneer, when his name was mentioned, would almost involuntarily cry out, "When is the election?" (Reynolds, Pioneer History, 2d Ed., 395.)

His extreme generosity was proverbial. It is said that in one of his journeys to Washington upon the Ohio river, as the steamer approached Wheeling, the point of debarkation, a well dressed person accosted him, a perfect stranger, and apologizing for his intrusion said, "Sir, I am yet some distance from my home and am out of money, I know no one on the boat; I have closely scanned the countenances of my fellow passengers and have discovered no gentleman more likely to assist me than yourself. Will you please sir, make me a loan of $50.00?" "Certainly," Mr. Cook said, and suiting his action to the word, opened his pocketbook and handed him the desired sum. (Edwards, History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards, 253.)

During the slavery agitation of 1822-1824 he was an extreme pro-slavery man, but was always loyal to the government and that in the midst of a people intent on its destruction.

He bore a prominent part while in Congress in securing the donation of lands for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal. During his first Congressional campaign stump speaking was introduced into the State. He died of consumption in Kentucky Oct. 16, 1827.

William Mears, his successor as well as his predecessor, was appointed by the Governor in the recess of the Legislature, Dec. 14, 1819, (Breese, xvi.) and was succeeded by Samuel Drake Lockwood elected by the Legislature Feb. 6, 1821. (Breese, xvi.) Born in Poundridge, Westchester county, New York, Aug. 2, 1789, Lockwood was left fatherless at the age of 10. After spending a few months in school in New Jersey, he went to live with an uncle at Waterford. N. Y., with whom he studied law. He was admitted to the bar at Batavia, N. Y., in 1811 and removed to Auburn in 1813. In 1818 he descended the Ohio river on a flat boat with William H. Brown, afterward of Chicago, and walked across country from Shawneetown arriving at Kaskaskia in December, but finally settled at Carmi in 1821.

As attorney-general he prosecuted William Bennett who killed Alphonso Stewart at Belleville in 1820, in what is said to be the first

and last duel ever fought in this State by its citizens. In spite of enormous pressure brought to bear in favor of Bennett, he was convicted and hanged, and to Lockwood's talents and success as a prosecutor the people are indebted for this early precedent. (Ford's History of Illinois, 48.)

Lockwood turned his attention principally to office seeking, which seems to have been a mania with lawyers at that day. He was a warm political and personal friend of Governor Coles and supported his policy with great zeal and ability. In return Governor Coles appointed him Secretary of State, Dec. 28, 1822, and he resigned as Attorney-General on that day. He resigned the office of secretary to accept the appointment by President Monroe of receiver of public money at Edwardsville, April 2, 1823. Upon the reorganization of the Judiciary in 1825, he was elected by the General Assembly, Jan. 19, 1825, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court. The tenure was for life or during good behavior from the reorganization until the new constitution was adopted, and he held the office until Dec. 4, 1848. During his term as Justice of the Supreme Court he lived in Jacksonville.

He was the chief compiler of our first criminal code, which he adopted from the Kentucky statutes.

He was tall and spare in form, graceful in bearing, with hair turned white before he was 50, though he lived to be 85.

With a high forehead and clear-cut features, his aspect was at once benevolent, venerable and intellectual. His appearance on the bench was the very personification of dignity, learning and judicial acumen. (Scott, Illinois History, 290.) He was not an exceedingly ambitious man, and made no enemies and many friends.

Though anti-slavery in principle he was an anti-"convention" man.

In 1847 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and in 1851 was made State trustee of the Illinois Central Railroad, which office he held until his, death, April 23, 1874.

James Turney, the fourth Attorney General, was elected by the legislature and commissioned Jan. 14, 1823. (Breese, xvi.) He was a native of Tennessee and after moving to Illinois he lived in Carrollton.

He was a man of commanding eloquence and majestic appearance, and is said to have been a man of great natural but of little acquired ability. While Attorney General, such was the reputation which had preceded him when traveling the circuits, that many men who had been indicted came into court and confessed their guilt rather than stand a trial with him as prosecutor. He was a candidate for Congress against Cook and Duncan, but received only 824 votes out of a total of over 12,700.

During the Black Hawk war he served as paymaster general.

George Forquer of Monroe county, who succeeded James Turney, was elected by the Legislature Jan. 23, 1829. (Breese, xvi.) He

was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in 1794, the son of a Revolutionary soldier; moved with his mother and half-brother, afterward Governor Ford, to New Design, Illinois, in 1804, and went to St. Louis, where he learned the carpenter's trade, after which he returned to Illinois and purchased the tract where Waterloo now stands. He seems to have been unsuccessful in business and embraced the legal profession, where he attained great success.

He was appointed Secretary of State by Governor Coles, Jan. 15, 1825, which office he resigned Dec. 31, 1828. He held the position of Attorney General until Dec. 3, 1832, when he took his seat in the State Senate as a representative of Sangamon county. During the first session of the Ninth General Assembly he was chairman of the committee on Internal Improvements and made a report on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. It was an elaborate report in favor of a loan of half a million dollars on the credit of the State. Ford says that it was perhaps the most able of any similar document submitted to any of the western legislatures, containing evidence of vast research. (Ford's History of Illinois, 180.) It was the first efficient movement in favor of the canal.

He was appointed register of the land office in Springfield in 1835.

It is said that he originated the expression "to die in the last ditch." (Edwards Papers, 518.)

While a young man he had traveled through the south on foot and became so favorably impressed with their style of architecture that when he built his residence in Springfield he followed it. The house still stands on the corner of Capitol avenue and Second streets, the property of G. R. Prickett. When built it was the finest house in town and boasted the only lightning rod in the community—the first one Abraham Lincoln ever saw. Forquer died in Cincinnati, Sept. 12, 1838.

James Semple, of Madison county, was his successor, being commissioned Jan. 30, 1833 (1 Scam. ix). He was a native of Green county, Ky., born Jan. 5, 1798. His parents came from Virginia and were descendants of a Scotch family of Renfrewshire. In his youth Semple learned the tanner and currier's trade; later he was a law student at Louisville. He emigrated to Illinois in 1818, but removed to Chariton, Mo., where he was admitted to the bar. Returning to Illinois in 1828 he settled in Edwardsville for the practice of law and later became a resident of Alton.

He was one of the prosecutors in the impeachment of Theophilus W. Smith, a judge of the Supreme Court.

In 1834 the House of Representatives elected him Speaker without opposition. He was a candidate for the United States Senate against Wm. L. D. Ewing to succeed E. K. Kane in 1835 and again Speaker of the House in 1836; was appointed Minister to New Grenada, now Columbia, South America, in 1837, and on Jan. 14, 1843, he was elected Justice of the Supreme Court to succeed Sidney Breese, who

had been elected to the United States Senate, but he resigned August 16 of the same year upon his appointment to the United States Senate, vice Samuel McRoberts.

Entering the Black Hawk war as a private, he rose to the rank of brigadier general.

He was six feet three inches tall and greatly distinguished for personal presence and bearing. He at one time aspired to the role of historian, having compiled an elaborate history of Mexico which has never been published (Davidson & Stuvé, 685), and was withal something of an inventor, being the projector of a "steam wagon" which lay for years a wreck on the prairie south of Springfield. He died Dec. 20, 1866.

The Legislature in 1831 passed an act providing that the Attorney General should be elected by joint ballot of the two houses for a term of four years commencing with 1834. (Laws 1831, 18, Sec. 5.) But in 1833 the term was changed to two years to take effect in December, 1834. (Laws 1833, 103.)

Ninian W. Edwards, the next incumbent, was a son of Ninian Edwards, the Territorial Governor. He was born April 15, 1809, near Frankfort, Ky. His father at that time was Chief Justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, but receiving the appointment of Governor of Illinois Territory he removed to Kaskaskia. Ninian W. graduated from the law department of Transylvania University in 1833, after which he commenced the practice of law. Governor Reynolds appointed him Attorney General Sept. 1, 1834, and he was elected by the Legislature and recommissioned Jan. 19, 1835. (1 Scam. ix.) The law requiring the residence of the Attorney General at the capital and not liking Vandalia, he resigned Feb. 7, 1835, and moved to Springfield.

He was elected representative to the Legislature in 1836 and was the last survivor of the "long nine."

In 1847 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and was appointed in 1854 the first Superintendent of Public Instruction by Governor Matteson, which office he retained till 1857.

As a parliamentarian he enjoyed an enviable reputation.

Linder, who confessed that he was not an unbiased critic, declared in his reminiscences that Edwards' manner and deportment were not calculated to win friends; that he inherited from his father so much vanity and egotism that it made him offensive to most of his acquaintances, and that he was constitutionally an aristocrat.

Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., of Madison county, succeeded Ninian W. Edwards. He was a nephew of the statesman of that name and was born in Lebanon, Ohio, July 31, 1806. He qualified Feb. 12, 1835, resigning the office Dec. 8, 1835, (1 Scam. ix). His home was in Edwardsville. July 20, 1837, he was commissioned circuit judge for the first circuit and served until 1839, when he resigned. Aug. 6, 1843, he was appointed judge of the Supreme Court to succeed

Stephen A. Douglas, resigned. He was elected to the same office by the General Assembly Feb. 17, 1845, and resigned Aug. 8, of the same year (2 Gil. iii). He died in Chicago, Feb. 21, 1850.

Walter Bennet Scates, of Jefferson county, succeeded Thomas, Jan. 18, 1836, (1 Scam. ix). Born in South Boston, Halifax county, Virginia, Jan. 18, 1808, he was taken in infancy to Hopkinsville, Kentucky, where he resided until 1831. He learned the printer's trade at Nashville and studied law at Louisville. In 1831 he moved to Frankfort, Franklin county, Illinois, and upon his appointment as Attorney General moved to Vandalia, but resigned Dec. 26, 1836, to become judge of the circuit court for the third circuit and moved to Shawneetown. In 1841 he was one of the five new judges added to the Supreme Court and held this office until 1847, when he resigned to take up the practice of law.

He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847. In 1854 he again became a judge of the Supreme Court being elected to succeed Lyman Trumbull. He resigned in 1857 and resumed the practice of law in Chicago

During the Civil War he served as a member of General McClernand's staff after which he was collector of customs at Chicago. He died at Evanston, Illinois, Oct. 26, 1886.

Usher F. Linder, Mr. Scate's successor, was born March 20, 1809, on a farm in Elizabethtown, Hardin county, Kentucky, within ten miles of the place where Abraham Lincoln was born. He removed to Illinois in the summer of 1835, settling at Greenup, Coles county. The next year he was elected to the House of Representatives and on February 4, 1837, he was elected Attorney General on joint ballot. (1 Scam. ix).

Although the law required a residence at the capital, he moved to Alton where he lived for a couple years, moving back to Coles county in 1838. He resigned as Attorney General on June 11th of that year.

As an orator he had few equals. Quick in repartee, few cared to encounter him in debate. He was a man of very extensive general reading and a profound lawyer, although his forte was in addressing a jury.

In politics he was at first a Jackson man, afterward a Whig and being of strong southern proclivities, he was a pro-slavery man and War Democrat. While he did not believe in slavery, he considered the abolition of it to mean the ruin of the white race. (Linder's Reminiscences.) He died in Chicago June, 5, 1876.

George W. Olney of Madison county, succeeded Linder June 26, 1838, and served until February 1, 1839. (1 Scam. ix.)

Wickliff Kitchell of Crawford county, assumed the duties of the office March 5, 1839. (1 Scam. ix.) He was born in New Jersey May 21, 1789. In 1812 he emigrated west, coming down the Ohio on a flat boat from Pittsburgh and settled near Cincinnati. From there he moved to southern Indiana in 1814, and from 1817 until

1838 he made Palestine, Crawford county, his home, at the end of which time he moved to Hillsboro, and the next year was elected Attorney General, but resigned Nov. 19, 1840, to take his seat in the House of Representatives of the Twelfth General Assembly. Between 1846 and 1854 he was a resident of Fort Madison, Iowa, after which he returned to Hillsboro. A Democrat until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; he afterward became an earnest Republican. He died Jan. 2, 1869.

Josiah Lamborn, his successor, was one of the most picturesque characters at the early bar. He was a native of Kentucky, possessed high social qualities, and his conversational powers were of the highest order, but he was inclined to be vindictive and very resentful of any slight offered him by an opposing attorney. He was one of the most able, untiring, yet merciless prosecutors of the times, and in his anxiety to add another scalp to his belt, says Moses (Illinois, Historical and Statistical 967), he sometimes allowed himself to be carried so far as to jeopardise his own.

In the famous trial of Archibald and William Trailer for the murder of an old man named Fisher, the details of which are familiar to all the old residents of Sangamon county, he had extorted a confession from a brother of the defendants, and though it was false, he succeeded so well that in the minds of jury and spectators the guilt of the accused was proved beyond a doubt. When at the close of the State's case, Judge Logan brought Fisher into court alive and well, the indignation of the crowd was so intense that Lamborn narrowly escaped being lynched on the spot.

He served as Attorney General for two years from Dec. 23, 1840 (2 Scam. v(, and died at Whitehall, Green county.

James Allen McDougall of Morgan county, the next incumbent, was born at Bethlehem, Albany county, New York, Nov. 19, 1817. He settled in Pike county in 1837 and assumed the duties of the office Jan. 12, 1843. (3 Scam. III.) After the expiration of his term he engaged in engineering and lead an exploring expedition to Rio del Norte, Gila and Colorado rivers, afterward settling in San Francisco, where he began the practice of law. He was Attorney General of California in 1850; represented the state in Congress in 1852, and April 2, 1861, he was elected to the United States States Senate where he served as a war Democrat until 1867, gaining the reputation of being a brilliant and effective speaker. He died at Albany, N. Y., Sept. 3, 1867,

David B. Campbell of Sangamon county succeeded McDougall and was the last Attorney General under the Constitution of 1818. His term began Dec. 21, 1846. (3 Gil. III.) Born in New Jersey, he came west with his brother about 1838. At the expiration of his term of office he was elected prosecuting attorney of Sangamon county, dying in office in 1856. It is said that he would never prosecute one charged with crime unless thoroughly convinced of his guilt.

The Constitution of 1848 made no provision for the office, and from 1848 until 1867 the State had no Attorney General. In the latter year the legislature by enactment revived the office and fixed the term at four years. (Laws 1867, 46.)

Robert Green Ingersoll of Peoria county was appointed by Governor Oglesby, Feb. 28, 1867, to serve during the unexpired term of the Governor, after which by the terms of the act the office was to be filed by popular election.

Ingersoll was born at Dresden, Oneida county, New York, Aug. 11, 1838. His father was a Congregational minister. They moved west in 1843 and Robert, with his brother Eben, opened a law office in Shawneetown. In 1857 he removed to Peoria. He was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress in 1860, and in 1864 after returning from the war he became a Republican.

As an orator he won great distinction. He nominated James G. Blaine for President in 1876, and for twenty years was the most popular stump speaker in the west. To the country at large he was chiefly known through his atheistic writings and speeches.

His death took place at Dobb's Ferry, Long Island, July 21, 1899. (Bateman and Selby's Encyclopedia.)

Washington Bushnell of LaSalle county, the only incumbent elected under the new law, was born in Madison county, New York, Sept. 30, 1825, and came with his parents in 1837 to Lisbon, Kendall county, Illinois. He graduated at the State and National Law School in Poughkeepsie, was admitted to the bar in 1853 and established himself in practice at Ottawa. He died June 30, 1885.

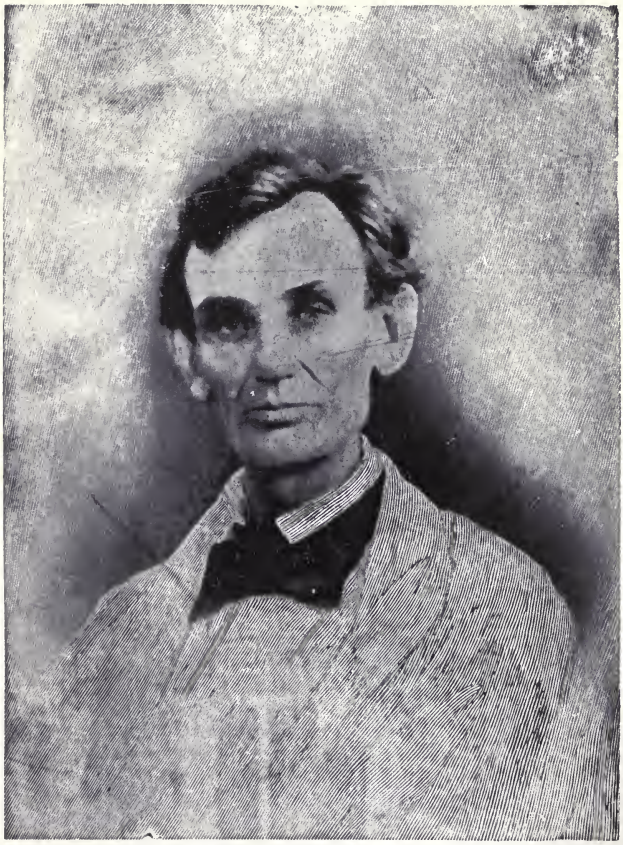
James K. Edsall, his successor, was born in Windham, Greene county, New York, May 10, 1831. While attending school he supported himself by working upon a farm. He read law at Prattsville and Catskill and was admitted to the bar at Albany in 1852. During the next two years he lived in Wisconsin and Minnesota and in 1854 moved to Leavenworth, Kan. He was elected to the Kansas Legislature in 1856 and was a member of the Topeka (free soil) body when it was broken up by the United States troops in 1856. In 1856 he returned to Illinois, settling at Dixon, and began to practice law. He was elected Attorney General in 1872, the Constitution of 1870 having made the office a constitutional one on the same footing as the other State offices. He served two terms and then moved to Chicago, where he practiced until his death, June 20, 1892.

James McCartney, successor of Edsall was born in Ireland of Scotch parentage, Feb. 14, 1835. He was brought to the United States in infancy and lived in Pennsylvania until 1845, when his parents moved to Trumbull county, Ohio, where he spent his time at farm work. He began the study of law in 1856 at Warren, Ohio; moved to Monmouth, Ill., in 1857, and upon being admitted to the bar moved in 1859 to Galva. Entering the army he became a captain. He was elected Attorney General in 1880. While in office he instituted the "Lake Front suits." In 1890 he moved to Chicago where he is still engaged in the practice of law.

George Hunt was born in Knox county, Ohio, in 1841 and came with his uncle to Edgar county Ill. in 1855. He entered the army in 1861, and retired with the rank of captain. Locating at Paris, he was elected Attorney General in 1884. During his incumbency he conducted the famous "Anarchist cases"—in the State Supreme Court against Gen. Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, John R. Tucker of Virginia and Roger A. Pryor of New York, as opposing counsel, and upon an appeal in one of the cases being taken to the United States Supreme Court, he appeared there for the State.

Maurice T. Moloney of LaSalle county, who succeeded Mr. Hunt, was born in Ireland July 26, 1849, and came to this country in 1867. While Attorney General he began proceedings against the Pullman Palace Car company which terminated in its abandonment of the ownership of the town of Pullman which it had operated by usurping the powers of a municipal corporation.

Edward Clay Akin, elected in 1896 to succeed Mr. Moloney was born in Will county in 1852 and was admitted to the bar in 1878. He was the first native born Illinoisan to hold the office. He was succeeded in 1901 by the present Attorney General, Howland J. Hamlin of Shelby county.



Abraham Lincoln in 1858.

LINCOLN IN RUSHVILLE.

Local Incidents in the Career of Abraham Lincoln, which Happened During the Years from 1832 to 1858.

Howard F. Dyson.

Abraham Lincoln as a character in state and national history is familiar to all students of political history. Today there is no personage in the whole of American history more exalted than that of Lincoln. North and South unite to honor his memory and review the rugged grandeur of his personality, all forgetting the bitterness and hate engendered during the stirring days of the early sixties, in the admiration of Lincoln—the man.

It was in the years from 1832 to 1858 that Lincoln was laying the foundation for the marvelous career that brought him so conspicuously before the people in the presidential campaign of 1860. During these years Lincoln was brought into close relation with the people of central Illinois as soldier, lawyer and politician. He came in contact with men in all stations of life and it is noted that his great heart was ever in play in his intercourse with men.

It is not the purpose of the writer to detail the history of the times in which Lincoln played a prominent part, but simply to chronicle a few local happenings dealing with his visits to Rushville and his associations with Rushville people. The little local incidents of the career of any man who has figured prominently in the administration of his country's affairs can not be devoid of interest, and in the case of Abraham Lincoln they are particularly so, as local personages actively participated in the scenes which we will here relate.

It is our purpose to show how the life of Lincoln was connected in its varying stages with that of Rushville people. How in the corresponding periods of his intellectual development he was associated with local personages. This relation continued through the span of Lincoln's life. As early as 1815 in his old Kentucky home Lincoln was the playmate of a lad who was afterwards a citizen of Rushville, and continuing on down until he had reached the zenith of his career he was associated on terms of intimacy with people from Rushville.

Lincoln First Visited Rushville in 1832.

Lincoln visited Rushville on several occasions, and especially is it noted that these visits, separated by a lapse of years, marked distinct epochs in the development of his powers and his illustrious career. In viewing separately the six or seven visits of Lincoln to Rushville it is not possible to always give exact dates, for the personal details of his early visits are forever lost and the men who took an active part in affairs are gone, and some of the incidents recorded may have passed from the realm of fact into fiction for aught we know.

It does not appear that any of these hardy old pioneers, who lived the stirring life of hardship, ever anticipated Lincoln's place in history. They regarded him as a jovial, sociable companion, whose success in politics up to the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debate was no more illustrious than that of the favorite sons of Schuyler county.

Lincoln's introduction to Rushville was in the line of military duties. It was the first period of a public career which was destined to end most gloriously. At this time Lincoln was a young man 23 years of age. He had responded to Governor Reynold's call for troops to march against the Indians, who were on the war path in the northern part of the State under the leadership of Chief Black Hawk.

The volunteer troops were ordered to be at Beardstown on April 22, 1832, and Lincoln, who had been elected captain of a Sangamon county company, was attached to the Fourth Regiment, Whiteside Brigade, along with Capt. Wm. Ralls and Capt. Mose Wilson of Rushville, who was afterwards promoted to major.

The troops left Beardstown April 27, 1832, and marched to Rushville, where they went into camp north of town. The weather was cold and the roads heavy in mud, and the second day only three miles were covered.

In Captain Ralls' and Major Wilson's companies were many Rushville young men, who were soon on terms of intimacy with Lincoln. The volunteer organizations were conducted on purely democratic principles, and officers and men met on an equality in every sport and pastime.

One of Lincoln's biographers says: "Lincoln entered with great zest into the athletic sports with which soldiers love to beguile the tedium of camp. * * * His popularity increased from the beginning to the end of the campaign, and those of his comrades who still survive him, always speak with hearty and affectionate praise of his character and conduct in those rough yet pleasantly remembered days."

"Billy" Wilson Wrestled With Lincoln.

In the adjutant general's report of Illinois, published in 1882, we find the following communication from the late Wm. L. Wilson of this city:

"Wm. L. Wilson, who was a private in Capt. Mose G. Wilson s company, writes to this office from Rushville, under date of Feb. 3, 1882, and after detailing some interesting reminiscences of Stillman's defeat says: 'I have during that time had much fun with the afterwards to be President of the United States, A. Lincoln. I remember one time wrestling with him, two best in three, and ditched him. He was not satisfied and we tried a foot race for a $5 bill and I won the money, and 'tis spent long ago. And many more interesting reminiscences could I give, but I am of Quaker persuasion and not much given to writing.'"

John Brown was another Rushville resident who was on terms of intimacy with Mr. Lincoln during the years he conducted a store at Salem, Menard county, and engaged in rafting on the Sangamon and Illinois rivers. In fact the relation was so close in those pioneer days that Mr. Brown could never believe that Lincoln had made the marvelous progress in mental growth necessary to fit him for the presidency and he voted for Douglas.

Some twenty years ago when the writer was a lad he would sit for hours of an evening at Mr. Brown's home on West Lafayette street listening to stories of his adventures as a pilot on the Illinois river and his experiences of warfare in the campaign against Black Hawk, and the name of Lincoln was closely associated with thrilling stories of adventure told. The details as outlined by Mr. Brown have long ago passed from memory, but the fact remains that he knew Mr. Lincoln in the days from 1830 to 1835 as few men were privileged to do.

We next find Lincoln aspiring to political honors as a candidate on the Whig ticket for a seat in the Illinois Legislature. He was defeated in 1834, but two years later was successful and took his seat in the lower house of the General Assembly at Vandalia.

Tarbell's Life of Lincoln says: "There was a preponderance of jean suits like Lincoln's in the Assembly, and there were occasional coon skin caps and buck skin trousers. Nevertheless, more than one member showed a studied garb and courtly manner. Some of the best blood of the south went into the making of Illinois and it showed itself from the earliest time in the Assembly."

In the Legislature with Schuylerites.

Among the men that Lincoln met in Vandalia during the years he was in the Legislature, 1834-1842, many were destined to become famous in State and nation. One among the number was Wm. A. Richardson, then a young man like Lincoln, who went to the Legislature from Schuyler in 1836. "Dick" Richardson, as his Rushville friends were wont to call him, was ever after on terms of intimacy with Lincoln, though opposed to him politically. As member of the Illinois Legislature, congressman and United States Senator, Wm. A. Richardson was second only to Stephen A. Douglas as a leader of the Illinois Democracy, and played a prominent part in State and national politics.

One other Schuyler citizen served with Lincoln in the Legislature at Vandalia. We refer to John Brown, father of Hon. Robert Brown. He succeeded Mr. Richardson and served in the Illinois Assembly from 1838 to 1840, and was afterward re-elected, and in 1848 served a term in the State Senate.

Even at this early day Lincoln was taking his place among the Whig leaders of the State, as the following from the Quincy Whig of May 28, 1840, indicates: "Mr. Lincoln, one of the presidential electors for this State, is 'going it with a perfect rush' in some of the interior counties. Thus far the Locofocos have not been able to start a man that can hold a candle to him in political debate. All of their crack nags that have entered the lists against him have come off the field crippled or broken down. He is now wending his way north."

But it was not until 1846 that Lincoln first impressed his old soldiers comrades of Schuyler, who had served with him in the Black Hawk war, with his importance as a politician. In that year he defeated Peter Cartwright, the itinerant Methodist preacher, for Congress, and Cartwright was the idol of the Schuyler Democrats.

As a Lawyer in Schuyler Courts.

Lincoln served but one term in Congress and on his return to Illinois resumed the practice of law. Following the customs of the times he traveled about from town to town, and several times appeared as attorney in the Schuyler Circuit Court. At the old tavern kept by Alex. Campbell, where the Jackson block now stands, Lincoln became a warm friend of the proprietor, who was a Kentuckian, and on one occasion after he had quitted the hotel Lincoln and Douglas were entertained at an evening company given at the Campbell home north of town.

In those days such lawyers as O. H. Browning and Calvin A. Warren of Quincy; T. Lyle Dickey, Wm. A. Minshall, Stephen A. Douglas, Wm. A. Richardson and P. H. Walker of this city, all intellectual giants and men who afterwards won renown on the bench or in the political field, were to be heard in cases at the old brick court house.

T. Lyle Dickey, who in the early thirties was a Rushville editor, and later a practicing attorney here, was elected to the Illinois Supreme Bench from Ottawa, and from the earliest times he and Lincoln were great friends.

When P. H. Walker of this city was elected to the circuit bench, and afterwards (1858) to the Supreme Bench, Lincoln appeared as counsel before him on numerous occasions.

In looking over the papers of his father, a few years ago, George E. Walker brought to light three letters written by Lincoln recommending young attorneys for admission to the bar. They read as follows:

"Springfield, Ill., Jan. 31, 1859.

"The undersigned, having in pursuance of the within appointment, examined the said applicant, Henry I. Atkins, touching his qualifi-

Court House of Schuyler County, Illinois, at Rushville.

cations to practice law, respectfully report that having performed the said duty, they find the applicant qualified to practice law, and recommend that he be licensed.

M. Hay,
A. Lincoln,
B. S. Edwards."

"Springfield, Ill., Jan. 28, 1860.

"We, the undersigned, report that we have examined Mr. Henry S. Greene and find him well qualified to practice as an attorney and counselor at law. We therefore recommend that he be licensed as such.

A. Lincoln,
L. W. Ross,
O. H. Browning."

"We take pleasure in certifying that Hon. Elias T. Turney is a gentleman of good moral character.

A. Lincoln,
Ward H. Laman."

When Judge Bagby Met Lincoln.

Judge Bagby's first meeting with Lincoln, with whom he was later to be closely associated in politics, was in 1847. He was on his way to Beardstown to appear before the presiding judge with a view of being admitted to the bar. The horse he was riding was a spirited one, and when near that city it became frightened and was careering backward, when from the side of the road a man stepped forth and called out, "Wouldn't you make faster progress, my young friend, if you turned that horse's head the other way?" The tall, lank stranger was Abraham Lincoln, and he followed up his suggestion by taking hold of the horse's bridle and walking along side. In the conversation that followed Mr. Bagby told Lincoln he was going to Beardstown to appear before Judge Purple and stand an examination for admission to the bar. Lincoln again volunteered his assistance, and when Beardstown was reached Mr. Bagby was introduced to Judge Purple and members of the bar by Lincoln and received his license to practice law in Illinois. In later years Judge Bagby was an ardent supporter of Lincoln, and was a candidate for the Illinois Senate in that memorable campaign between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858.

Befriended by Lincoln in 1840.

R. R. Randall had his clothes stolen in Springfield by Chicago Whigs.

R. R. Randall, one of the founders of The Rushville Times, now a resident of Lincoln, Neb., has personal knowledge of the goodness of heart of the great Lincoln through a favor extended to him in a time of gloom and despair.

Away back in the year 1840 Mr. Randall was taken from Rushville to Springfield by his father and apprenticed to Simeon Francis, then editor and proprietor of the Springfield Journal. The boys in the office good-naturedly named him "Devil Dick," the former appellation being always applied to apprentices in printing offices.

When "Dick" saw the legal documents made out, which bound him for a term of years to the Journal editor, he felt that his personal liberty was being taken away from him forever. He was a strong, rugged, good-natured lad, and longed as only a boy can for the comforts of home. But homesickness was not the only sorrow that came to him during his first week's stay in Springfield. The Whig convention had met in the city that week and the Chicago delegation had driven down and stored their baggage in the Journal office. "Dick" had all his worldly possessions stored away in an old hair trunk, and with the departure of the Chicago delegates it had mysteriously disappeared from the office.

With no one to comfort him "Dick" wandered out to the front of the office and there gave way to tears. Editor Francis, with preoccupied mind, had walked out the door past the boy without asking the secret of his tears, but it was left for a greater soul to administer balm to his desolate heart.

A tall, awkward man came ambling down the street. A homely hand touched "Dick" on the shoulder. The very touch was full of sympathy, and fuller of sympathy was the voice that inquired: "My son, what is breaking your heart?" And then between sobs "Dick" told his story.

The great man who volunteered his sympathy, however, had seen the shadows as well as the lights of human experience. He guessed the trouble at once and said: "Those rascally Whigs have stolen your clothes. Never mind; dry your tears and I will have you more and better clothes." The man who had noted and consoled the lad was Abraham Lincoln, and the following letter brought new clothes and great joy to "Devil Dick."

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 16, 1840.

Jonathan G. Randall, Rushville, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR—Your son Richard has just told me of his great loss. The rascally Whigs, through a mistake, took his trunk containing all his clothes off to Chicago, and his heart is almost broken. Make him up some new ones just as you know he needs and make his heart glad. Yours respectfully, A. LINCOLN."

Mr. Randall ever afterwards was a great admirer of Lincoln, and for four years delivered the Journal to his home in Springfield. Today he wears the little bronze button in the lapel of his coat which marks him as one of the veterans who served in the war at the call of President Lincoln to remove the yoke of bondage from the negroes, that they might be free.

"Joe" Angel and Lincoln.

When in Rushville on his last visit Lincoln showed most strongly a trait of character, which had always endeared him to the common people. The fact is Lincoln was plebian in his social habits and tastes as he was in his origin, and was never more happy than when in the society of plain and unpretentious people.

While here some one said: "Mr. Lincoln, there is a man here who once knew you when you were boys together."

"What is his name?" said Lincoln.

"Joe Angel."

"Tell him to come; I want to see him."

A messenger was dispatched for Mr. Angel, but he refused to go, as he had not the courage to thrust himself on a candidate for United States Senator, whom he knew and remembered as a boy wearing jeans pants and driving an ox team.

"Well, said Lincoln, "if Joe will not come to see me I must go to see him," and suiting the action to the word walked to the place where he was at work and extending his hand in the most friendly way, said: "How are you, Joe?"

He responded, "How are you, Abe?" and instantly the wide chasm of intervening years since they were boys was bridged, and they stood on the same level as mutual friends and talked of their old Kentucky homes and of the days when they drove an ox team into Springfield in the early thirties.

EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY.

The Republican party in Schuyler county dates from the year 1856, and of the five men who took active part in its inception two are still living—James E. Scripps, editor of the Detroit News, and Maxon Frisby of this vicinity. In a letter to the writer, giving some facts in connection with Lincoln's visit to Rushville, Mr. Scripps says:

"The first Republican gathering ever held in Schuyler county assembled one evening in the fall of 1856 in G. W. Scripps' school house, formerly the old tannery, which stood where Hal Scripps' house now does. There were present G. W. Scripps, Rev. John Clarke, Wilhelm Peters, Maxon Frisby and myself. I remember Mr. Clarke saying that for many years he had been without a political party, and he rejoiced that one was now organized with which he could conscientiously affiliate. The subject of the approaching State convention at Bloomington was talked over, and Mr. Clarke finally elected delegate to represent the embryo Republicanism of Schuyler county. We chipped in a trifle for his expenses—perhaps enough altogether to pay his hotel bill at Bloomington. I presume he drove over to the convention in his buggy or rode on horseback."

The generation born since President Lincoln died know little of the political events which are associated with the greatest of Illinois statesmen. In the memorable campaign of 1858, in which Lincoln and Douglas took the leading part, the prairies of Illinois were literally afire with partisan enthusiasm. Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, talented, famed and eloquent, was a candidate for re-election. Abraham Lincoln, who, by a speech at the Bloomington convention two years before, had made himself the leader of the newly formed Republican party, was his opponent. The nature and importance of the issue made Illinois the battle ground of the nation, and though Douglas won the senatorship, Lincoln, who up to this time had scarcely been known outside the State, through his masterly debate with Douglas, won the presidency and imperishable fame.

In the senatorial district composed of Hancock, Henderson and Schuyler counties this county furnished three candidates. Rev. J. P. Richmond was a candidate for the senate, and Hon. L. D. Erwin was a candidate for representative on the Democratic ticket and John C. Bagby was a candidate for State senator on the Republican ticket.

LINCOLN AT BEARDSTOWN.

Lincoln opened his campaign of that year at Beardstown on August 12th. Douglas had spoken there the day before and from there gone northward, the two meeting at Ottawa on August 21st in the series of joint debates in which Lincoln's great fame as an orator attracted the attention of the country.

At the Beardstown meeting Schuyler was represented by a delegation numbering several hundred. They crossed the ferry with banners flowing and lively music, and were given an address of welcome by Mr. Sturtevant, to which response was made by G. W. Scripps. In the afternoon Lincoln was escorted to the stand by the Rushville band and our military company headed the procession.

Now that the Lincoln-Douglas senatorial campaign has become an historic one, and rightly, too, for it was that that gave Lincoln the presidency, the Rushville people who participated so prominently in the ceremonies of the opening should be proud of the fact that they gave Lincoln enthusiastic encouragement in the contest, which, though lost, made him the logical candidate for president on the Republican ticket two years later.

Schuyler county having three senatorial candidates in the field in that memorable campaign was deemed important territory by both Lincoln and Douglas. No other county in the State had such a representation, and both candidates refrained from speaking here until late in the campaign. Lincoln came on October 20th and a few days later he was followed by Stephen A. Douglas. The joint debate, which had astounded the nation by its scope and the eloquence of the principals, had been brought to a close, and all other political speakers had been made mere pygmies compared with Lincoln and Douglas.

Schuyler people had followed the contest closely through the papers, and as the campaign progressed partisan feeling became more bitter. The slavery issue was coming to the front with irresistable power, and the newly reformed Republican party, with Lincoln as the leader in Illinois, was striving to wrest the governing power of the State from the Democrats. Schuyler was a Democratic county and Douglas was the idol of the party, and in the rehearsal of the local incidents here recorded one may get an idea of the temper of the people of that period.

Lincoln Visited Rushville in 1858.

HIS GREETING WAS A MOST ENTHUSIASTIC ONE, EVEN IF SCHUYLER WAS DEMOCRATIC.

It has been more than 44 years since Lincoln visited Rushville for the last time, and yet there are scores of people living in and about the city who well remember the incidents of the day. For a time it seemed a hopeless task to the writer to locate for certain the date of Lincoln's last visit. No one in Rushville could give the information and the files of old papers in Springfield, Canton, Lewistown and Oquawka were carefully scanned, and though in some cases comment was made on the speech here, no date was given. For the last four years, during which time the material for this sketch was collected, numerous inquiries were made as regards the date of Lincoln's visit, and finally by rare chance the writer came into possession of a Schuyler Citizen, edited by G. W. Scripps, now in possession of Mrs. M. A. Bagby, to whom we are indebted for this and other valuable information.

Abraham Lincoln came to Rushville for the last time on Wednesday, Oct. 20, 1858. He was driven across the country from Mt. Sterling by Charles H. Sweeney, now of Des Moines, Ia., who was then a law student in Judge Bagby's office. Mr. Sweeney says he remembers it was a cold raw day, but that the ride did not seem a long one, for Lincoln was an entertaining companion. What impressed him most, however, was Lincoln's abnormally long legs which were hanging over the dash board most of the way.

Great preparations had been made to welcome Lincoln, and at an early hour wagons, horsemen and people on foot began pouring into town. As they entered they were taken in charge by marshals on horseback and escorted to the rendezvous north of town. At 12:30 the delegations from Beardstown and East Schuyler, headed by a martial band, arrived.

The united procession, under direction of Chief Marshal Levi Lusk, then moved forward to the square, then down Washington street to Jackson and east on Lafayette to St. Louis street, and on returning to the square the wagons, carriages and footmen dispersed, and the horsemen, headed by the Rushville band, marched to the home of Wm. H. Ray, where Mr. Lincoln was entertained.

As the horsemen approached Lincoln appeared and at the cries of "speech!" "speech!" he stepped down from the veranda and mounted a high flower pedestal, which stood in the yard, and from this lofty position addressed the crowd. "Boys, this is a shaky platform," said Lincoln, "But the Republican party has a strong foundation." The pedestal on which Lincoln stood was a frame of wood surrounding a stump, and the stump was allowed to stand in front of the Ray homestead until it rotted off at the base, and it is still preserved as one of the local Lincoln relics by Mrs. L. A. Jarman. Another relic associated with Lincoln's visit to Rushville is owned by Mrs. Jennie L. Ray. Her husband, Dwight E. Ray, then a small lad, was greatly interested in the proceedings of the day, and when Lincoln offered to give him 10 cents if he would hurrah for the Republican party he did it right lustily. Mrs. Ray kept the 10 cent piece and had it mounted on a pin as a keepsake of Lincoln's visit here.

A reception was given by Mr. and Mrs. Ray to Lincoln on the evening of the day he spoke here, and he met a large number of our people there. Mrs. A. R. Anderson was one of the number and she was asked to assist in entertaining the guests. Mrs. Anderson took her place at the piano and Lincoln soon strolled over that way and stood beside her. He appeared to be passionately fond of music and during a lull in the festivities said to Mrs. Anderson, "I'd give a farm if I could sing and play like you can."

LINCOLN'S VIEWS ON SLAVERY.

The crowd that greeted Lincoln at that afternoon meeting was estimated by Mr. Scripps in the Citizen at 3,000, which was a large gathering for that early day. The speaker's stand was erected on the north side of the old court house, east of the door, and at 2:00 o'clock Mr. Lincoln was introduced by Joseph W. Sweeney, then one of Rushville's leading attorneys.

In the series of joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas, which had been concluded at Alton on October 15th, the issues of the campaign had been thoroughly discussed, and in his Rushville speech Mr. Lincoln added no new argument to those already made. He devoted the opening of his speech to the opinions and policy of Henry Clay on the slavery question, showing that his views and Clay's coincided exactly.

On the question of slavery we quote the following extract from his speech as given in the Citizen, which strongly indicates that Lincoln's wish at that time was to regulate and not abolish slavery, but rather to confine it within the territory where it had existed up to the time of the Kansas–Nebraska agitation:

"I have intimated that I thought the agitation would not cease until a crisis should have been reached and passed. I have stated in what way I thought it would be reached and passed. I have said that it might go one way or the other. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally

placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation might cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south. I have said and I repeat, my wish is that the further spread of it may be arrested, and that it may be placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I have expressed that as my wish. I entertain the opinion upon evidence sufficient to my mind that the fathers of this government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery—the African slave trade—should be cut off at the end of 20 years? Why did they make provision that in all the new territory we owned at that time it should be forever prohibited? Why stop its spread in one direction and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of ultimate extinction? * * * *

"It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us and they left it as they found it. But in making the government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility, of its immediate removal.

"And when Judge Douglas asks me why we can not let it remain part slave and part free as the fathers of the government made it, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood, and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the government had adopted in relation to this element among us, was the best policy in the world—the only wise policy—the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon—that will ever give us peace unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution—I turn upon him and ask him why he could not let it alone? I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a new policy in regard to it? He has himself said he introduced a new policy. He said so in his speech on the 22d of March of the present year, 1858. I asked him why he could not let it remain where our fathers placed it? I ask, too, of Judge Douglas and his friends why we shall not again place this institution upon the basis on which the fathers left it? I ask you when he infers that I am in favor of setting the free and slave states at war, when the institution was placed in that attitude by those who made the constitution, did they make any war? If we had no war out of it when thus placed, wherein is the ground of belief that we shall have war out of it if we return to that policy? Have we had any peace upon this springing from any other basis? I maintain that we have not. I have proposed nothing more than a return to the policy of the fathers."

DISTURBANCES OF THE DAY.

While Lincoln's reception in Rushville was a most enthusiastic one it was marred by partisan demonstrations of the most flagrant kind. As has been previously stated, party feeling ran high and it showed itself in a most unfavorable light at the Lincoln meeting.

On the night before Lincoln came, some one climbed to the top of the old court house and hung a black flag from the steeple, and during the speaking the sheriff was required to clear the court house roof of boys who made such a din as to drown the speaker's voice.

In one of the court house windows, directly over the stand from which Lincoln spoke, was a crowd of young ladies who waved aloft a nigger doll, to which was attached a banner bearing the inscription, "Hurrah for Lincoln!" Growing more bold when they saw they were detracting attention from the speaker, they cheered for Douglas and publicly announced that he would speak in Rushville in the near future. Mr. Lincoln stopped in the midst of his great speech and turning to the window politely asked the young ladies to be still until he had finished his speech, when he would yield the stand to them. The kindly rebuke administered by Lincoln restored order and he was allowed to finish his speech without further disturbance.

First Life of Lincoln.

JOHN L. SCRIPPS, A FORMER RUSHVILLE CITIZEN, WROTE FIRST LIFE OF LINCOLN.

In the audience that greeted Lincoln on that day was a Rushville gentleman who at the time was one of the Republican leaders of the State, and was afterwards instrumental in securing for Chicago the national convention in 1860, the one thing needed to secure Lincoln's nomination for president. We refer to John Locke Scripps, brother of Mrs. M. A. Bagby and Mrs. Lydia Little of this city.

In 1858 Mr. Scripps was editor of the Chicago Press and Tribune, the recognized organ of the Republican party in Illinois. As editor-in-chief Mr. Scripps wielded all the influence at his command towards bringing Lincoln before the country as a presidential candidate W. H. Milburn, the blind chaplain of Congress, in a letter to Mr. Scripps' daughter, Mrs. B. F. Dyche of Evanston, says: "I suppose your father's influence did more to secure Mr. Lincoln's nomination for the presidency than that of any man." Lincoln knew and appreciated these services, and after his election Mr. Scripps was named as postmaster of the city of Chicago.

Soon after Lincoln was nominated it was decided to publish a story of his life and Mr. Scripps was selected for the task. This was the first authorized life of Lincoln and was circulated in pamphlet form as a campaign document. That Mr. Scripps had the confidence of Lincoln to a remarkable degree is shown by the following extract from Jesse W. Weik's Life of Lincoln:

"When John L. Scripps, then editor of the Chicago Press and Tribune, came down to Springfield to secure data for the authorized campaign life of the presidential candidate, Mr. Lincoln was more than ever brought face to face with the demands for the facts. Just how he met and disposed of the question the world will probably never know, for he locked himself up in a room with his biographer one afternoon and there communicated certain facts regarding his ancestry and early history which Scripps so long as he lived would never under any circumstance disclose."

This early life of Lincoln printed and circulated during the campaign of 1860, was soon forgotten by the public in general, but it forms the basis of all standard works on the life of Lincoln published since then.

Several years ago Mrs. B. F. Dyche of Evanston, secured a copy of the biography her father had written from John Hay, now Secretary of State in President Roosevelt's cabinet, and the work was reissued in permanent form and as a model of typographical art by the Cranbrook Press of Detroit, Mich.

MR. SCRIPPS' ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN.

A letter written by Mr. Scripps to Lincoln's law partner, Mr. Herndon, in which he welcomes the news that Mr. Herndon was about to write a book on Lincoln, shows how accurately he had guaged the future reputation of Lincoln. After modestly remarking that he might improve his own sketch if he had it to do again, he continued:

"It is gratifying, however, to see that the same qualities in Lincoln to which I then gave greatest prominence are those on which his fame ever chiefly rests. Is it not true that this is the leading lesson of Lincoln's life—that true and enduring greatness—the greatness that will survive the corrosion and abrasion of time, change and progress—must rest upon character? In certain showy and what are understood to be most desirable endowments, how many Americans have surpassed him! Yet how he looms above them now! Not eloquence, nor logic, nor power of command, nor courage—not any or all of these have made him what he is; but these, in the degree in which he possessed them, conjoined to those certain qualities comprised in the term character, have given him his fame, have made him for all time to come the great American man—the grand central figure in American (perhaps the world's) history."

This eloquent summing up of Lincoln's character is not only as true today as it was 35 years ago, but it will be far more universally accepted now than it was then.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DRUG TRADE OF CHICAGO

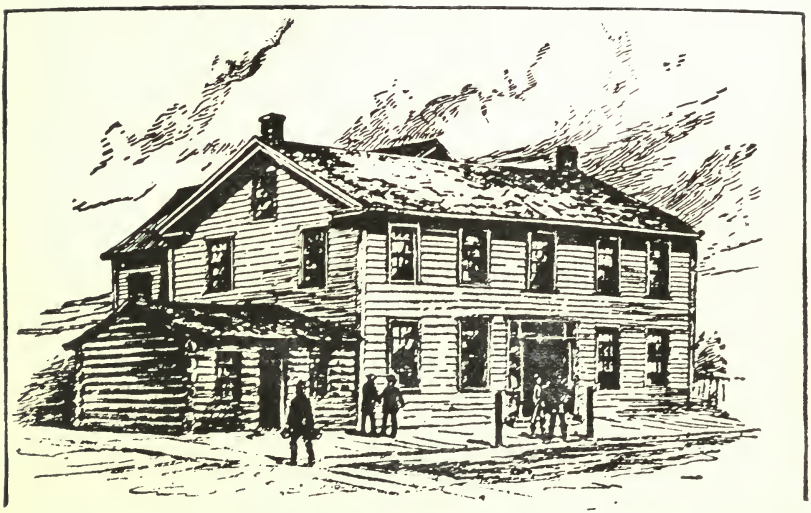
Compiled from the records of the Chicago Veteran Druggist's Association, by Albert E Ebert, Historian.

INTRODUCTORY.

It is proposed in these pages to outline the early history of the drug trade in Chicago from 1832 to 1871, inclusive. It was between these dates that the city laid the foundation of its greatness. and upon what was done then the superstructure has been reared. In the introductory pages it is our purpose to outline the geographical limits of the city, its relation to the surrounding country and to give such facts and data as will lead to a measurably clear understanding of the commercial conditions of the times, especially with relation to the subject directly under consideration. The early druggist is our subject. It is with him we shall have to deal, but we find him so alert and progressive a fellow, so interested in the affairs of the commonwealth of which he was a part, that to write his history it is necessary to write some of the history of other affairs as well. It was in the drug store of a pioneer that the first meeting was held, which resulted in the incorporation and organization of the village of Chicago. It is not generally known that Chicago was born in a drug store, but such is the fact. It may also be of interest to state that when the seal of the city of Chicago was adopted it was upon the suggestion of Dr. David Brainerd, a pioneer physician, that the little, fleecy cloud floating above the other figures was made the cradle of a naked, new-born babe. Thus it was that the future giant was ushered into the world, surrounded by all that loving care and skilled professional attention could bestow.

Until 1830 Chicago had but a mythical existence. The name was applied rather indiscriminately to the river and to the little settlement on its banks. Some say that the name signifies in the Indian dialect "great, mighty, powerful." and others find authority for the statement that the name comes from the Indian term "Chicagou," meaning wild onion or leek, from the fact that so many of these plants grew along the banks of the river. These two meanings may not be altogether irreconcilable.

In 1830 the little settlement began to take on the appearance of a town. The Illinois and Michigan canal had obtained its land grant a few years previously, and under the terms of their authority the canal commissioners began laying out towns on the canal lands. One of the first towns to be thus platted was Chicago. According to the



THE SAUGANASH HOTEL.

Philo Carpenter's Drug Store was in small log building to the left of the Hotel.

instructions of the commissioners, James Thompson, the canal surveyor, laid out the townsite, and a plat of it was published on the 4th of August, 1830. The first canal commissioners were Dr. Gershom Jayne, a druggist and physician of Springfield, Edmund Roberts of Kaskaskia and Charles Dunn. At this time there was but little order in the arrangement of the town.

The business district was largely confined to the south side of South Water street, the business houses facing the river, which pursued its clean, though somewhat sluggish, way toward the lake, met a sand bar near the present location of Rush street bridge and was deflected southward, entering the lake opposite the present terminus of Madison street. Those dwellings which were not on South Water street were sparsely scattered along Lake street and the intersecting north and south streets, such as Franklin, Wells, LaSalle, Clark and Dearborn streets. The north side of the river was virgin prairie save for the Kinzie homestead and a few isolated log cabins of other pioneers. The west side was in the same condition except for a little settlement opposite what was then known as Wolf's Point, between the forks of the river and across from the postoffice at the junction of Lake and South Water streets. The south side extended only to Madison street. In the Thompson plat of 1830 the north side is laid out as far north as Kinzie street, the west side as far west as the present location of Des Plaines street, the south side was bounded on the north and west by the river, on the east by what is now State street, east of and including which was Fort Dearborn reservation, and on the south by Madison street, but at the time neither State, Madison nor Des Plaines streets were named. The main portions of the town, therefore, so far as the business and residence parts were concerned did not go much farther east than Dearborn street, nor farther south than the south side of Washington street. Indeed, until later on in the thirties the size of the city was even less than the limits laid down in the original plat.

Business drifted from the west end of South Water street eastward to Dearborn street, from thence around upon Lake street, working up both sides to the junction of Lake, South Water and Market streets where it first began. During this time the intersecting streets got their share of the new stores which were started as the population of the city grew, the residence portions being forced gradually southward. At the beginning of the forties both Lake and South Water streets and those intersecting them were liberally sprinkled with stores, with here and there a dwelling house. During the period from 1830 to 1840 there were a good many inns and boarding houses to accommodate the transient population, and in the early days of that decade there were scattered dwellings on the cross streets with plenty of ground around them for the customary "garden patch."

Houses on South Water and Lake streets, if more than one story high, were often used as combination stores and dwellings after the fashion of the modern store and flat, but, without the modern conveniences. Those who lived outside the immediate vicinity of Lake and South Water streets usually had enough ground to do some

farming. In the early 'forties the present site of the Auditorium hotel was a potato patch and was considered to be some distance from town.

These small, kitchen gardens scattered around the village helped out during the financial crisis of 1837 and the succeeding years, when no one had any money and everyone was in debt, and the community had to depend to a considerable extent upon what the soil could immediately produce.

Mr. Philo Carpenter, the first druggist of the town, states that in 1832, when he came to Chicago, the streets had been partially staked out, but no grading had been done, and not even a dirt road had been thrown up. The main road was along what is now South Water street, and proceeded from the fort near the present mouth of the river, westward to Russell Heacock's log house on the bank of a deep gully about where State street now crosses the river. Mr. Heacock had a foot log on which to cross the gully, but the public road swung around the end of the swale and proceeded northwest to the log house of George W. Dole at South Water and Clark streets, thence west again to P. F. W. Peck's frame building, the first of its kind in Chicago, at the corner of LaSalle and South Water streets. From here the road continued in the same direction to a point opposite the forks of the river, where the postoffice was located at that time in charge of Postmaster John S. C. Hogan. The postoffice was at the junction of South Water, Lake and Market streets; and directly south on the opposite side of Lake street at the corner of Market and Lake stood a little log house owned by Mark Beaubien and used for a time as an inn. It was only 16 feet wide by 20 long and had been erected by James Kinzie. When the town was laid out it was found that this log house was in the middle of the street, so Mr. Beaubien moved it back upon the corner. Here is our first definite landmark, for in this little log hut begins the real pharmaceutical history of Chicago.

The business center of the town at this time and for some time after was located near the fork of the river. The streets were nothing more than country roads and poor ones at that. The traffic on them consisted mostly of farm wagons loaded with produce. A familiar sign was the warning on a board stuck up in the mud, "No Bottom Here." G. Sproat, the schoolmaster of Chicago at this period, in a letter to the Chicago Tribune some years ago, described the streets of early times in the following language:

"The streets of the village in the fall soon became deluged with mud. It lay in many places half a leg deep, up to the hubs of the carts and wagons in the middle of the streets, and the only sidewalk we had was a single plank stretched from one building to another. The smaller scholars I used to bring to school and take home on my back, not daring to trust them on the slippery plank. One day I made a misstep and went down into the thick mire with a little one in my arms. With difficulty I regained my foothold, with both overshoes sucked off by the thick, slimy mud."

At the time to which Mr. Sproat refers there was but one road from the town to the lake. This was laid off by a surveyor and extended from the junction of South Water and State streets east through the Fort Dearborn reservation to the lake.

Concerning the appearance of Chicago in 1833 the "Rambler," an English writer and traveler, had this to say:

"This little mushroom town is situated upon a perfectly level tract of country, for the most part consisting of prairie lands, at a point where a small river, whose sources interlock in the wet season with those of the Illinois, enters Lake Michigan. The upstart village lies principally on the right bank of the river, above the fort. Next in rank to the officers and commissioners may be noted certain shopkeepers and merchants, residents here, looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood or those still passing further to the westward for custom and profit. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent and five or six hotel keepers. These may be considered stationary and proprietors of the half hundred clapboard houses around town."

It was in 1833 that the mouth of the river was cut through by a force of men in charge of Major Handy. This work made the harbor possible, the depth of the water on either side of the bar being sufficient for harbor purposes. It was necessary, therefore, at first, only to cut through the sand bar at the present outlet of the river and provide against a subsequent accumulation of sand in the channel. This work was one of the utmost importance, and the citizens appreciated fully what a good harbor meant for the future of the town.

The population of Chicago in 1831 consisted of 60 persons, exclusive of Indians and half-breeds; in 1832 there were five stores and 250 inhabitants, and in 1833 the population had risen to the grand total of 350. Two of the five stores were drug stores, but they, like the others, carried a general assortment of goods of all kinds. All of these general stores, including the two drug stores, carried grocers' drugs and dyestuffs.

We are indebted to the files of the early newspapers for much of the information we have been able to obtain concerning pioneer druggists and drug stores. These merchants were among the principal patrons of the newspapers as advertisers, contributors and subscribers. The founding of the first newspaper in Chicago is and was, therefore, an event of much importance. The first newspaper in Chicago was the Chicago Democrat, which was founded Nov. 26, 1833, by John Calhoun, editor and publisher. The paper was first known as the Chicago Weekly Democrat and its first office was at the corner of Clark and South Water streets. In 1836 the paper was sold to "Long" John Wentworth, who continued its publication. The second newspaper in Chicago was known as the Chicago Weekly American, and was established in the summer of 1835 by T. C. Davis as a Whig paper. Both papers later on began the issue of

daily editions. It is interesting to note that during the period from January 1 to May 20, 1835, the publication of the Democrat was suspended on account of the lack of paper, the needed supply of which did not come to hand prior to the close of navigation.

The first public ferry was operated at the foot of Dearborn street and was opened in September, 1833. Prior to this time Mark Beaubien owned and conducted a ferry at the junction of Lake street and the river. Other ferries came into existence later on, one being at Clark street and another at Lake street after Mark Beaubien's incumbency. The first draw-bridge in Chicago was built in 1834 at Dearborn street. Another device in use as a bridge was made of planks in the form of a float extending between low piers on either side of the river. On the float was a windlass with ropes attached so that the bridge could be turned down stream or up stream as might be desirable.

It was in 1834 that the great land boom began which ended with the panic of 1837. The cession of the Indian lands, the removal of the Indians, the projected Illinois and Michigan canal and the marketing of the canal lands together with the floods of paper money issued by the Bank of Illinois and its Chicago branch, and the paper of other banks in the east and south, induced a spirit of recklessness and speculation which raised the land in and around the newly organized town of Chicago to preposterous prices considering the times. Lots sold at from $1,000 to $15,000 each and the whole country near Chicago was platted off on paper into town lots. The knowledge concerning the rich and fertile territory to the west and the constant passage of emigrants to the new lands for which Chicago was the forwarding station and supply depot were other factors which brought on the boom. When the bubble burst lots sold for what the seller could get, and often he could get nothing. One hundred dollars for a lot that cost ten times that sum was looked upon as a fortunate deal for the seller.

Peter Pruyne & Co., Dr. Valentine Boyer and others were interested as contractors and purveyors of supplies in the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The venture caused the failure of those gentlemen and of nearly everyone else connected with it.

The first hotel in Chicago was the log cabin of Mark Beaubien already mentioned. The Sauganash hotel was erected in the early thirties beside the little log cabin and adjoining it. The inns of the period were quite numerous, but it is not necessary to go into details concerning them. The Tremont House, however, may be mentioned with propriety, since it has now an intimate connection with the educational side of pharmacy by reason of its purchase by the Northwestern University as a home for its professional schools. This hotel was built in 1833 at the northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, diagonally across from its present location. It was bought by the Couch family soon after. It burned in 1839, was rebuilt in 1840 on its present corner, burned again in 1849, was rebuilt in the same location in 1850, burned again in 1871, and again was rebuilt.

The first census of the inhabitants of Chicago was taken on July 1, 1837, and showed a population of 4,170 people. There were 398 dwellings, four warehouses, 29 dry goods stores, five drug stores, 10 taverns, 26 grocery stores, five churches and two book stores. There were 20 doctors, 17 lawyers and 25 mechanics' shops, one brewery, one saw mill and one flour mill. It took from twenty to thirty days to get from Chicago to New York and the regular freight rate between the two points was $1.50 per 100 pounds *via* the Hudson river, Erie canal and lakes to Chicago.

It is not definitely known when the first stock of medical supplies was shipped to Chicago. So far as the records show, however, they were probably brought by Dr. John Cooper, who was surgeon's mate at Fort Dearborn in 1810. Doctor Cooper left the fort the following year and was succeeded by Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis, who was one of those slain at the Fort Dearborn massacre, Aug. 15, 1812. The next member of the medical profession to appear upon the scene was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, who was appointed Indian agent at Fort Dearborn in 1820. Doctor Wolcott performed the duties of physician and Indian agent as well, having a small store of medicines among his other effects. These he dispensed himself as occasion required. Doctor Wolcott remained at his post until the time of his death in 1830. During the period of his incumbency three other surgeons were connected with the post at different times. In 1823, Dr. Thomas P. Hall was assistant surgeon, but remained only a year. From Oct. 3, 1828, to Dec. 14, 1830, Dr. C. A. Finley was assistant surgeon, coming with two companies of troops and bringing, in the language of the order, "suitable hospital supplies for the posts to be established and re-occupied." In May, 1830, Dr. Elijah Dewey Harmon arrived in Chicago, and in the absence of Doctor Finley, took that gentleman's place as post surgeon. Doctor Harmon, after whom Harmon Court was named, came west to better his financial condition, and appears to be the first medical man who ever came to Chicago of his own free will and accord. On the 15th of July, 1831, P. F. W. Peck came to Chicago and opened a general store. Among the articles he offered for sale were aloes, alum, borax, copperas, Glauber salt, Epsom salt, sulphur and dye stuffs.

Assistant Surgeon G. I. DeCamp arrived on June 17, 1832, with two companies of troops, and on July 10th of the same year came General Scott with his command on board the schooner "Sheldon Thompson." Then began the real pharmaceutical history of Chicago, and we are brought back to the little log cabin of Mark Beaubien at Lake and Market streets, whose four rough walls sheltered the first real drug store in Chicago.

When the troops of General Scott arrived they brought with them the cholera. Those already in the fort were immediately isolated and placed in charge of Dr. Harmon, who ascribed his success in treating the few cases which appeared among the troops under him to the fact that he did not use calomel in their treatment. Dr. DeCamp, who remained with the main body of troops, said that of the 1,000 men in the fort 20 per cent had the cholera.

Eight days after the arrival of General Scott and his troops came a young man from New England, who was destined to make his mark as one of the founders of the coming city. He came to Chicago from a drug store in Troy, N. Y., having previously closed out his business there and shipped a stock of drugs to Fort Dearborn. He came by rail to Schenectady, by canal to Buffalo, by steamboat to Detroit and by mud wagon to Niles, Michigan, from whence he proceeded by lighter to St. Joseph where he and a companion, George W. Snow, began an adventurous journey around the head of the lake in a canoe. The circumstances of this journey will be described more fully in another place. The hero of it was Philo Carpenter, pioneer and pharmacist, and he reached the present limits of Chicago in a canoe towed by two Indians on July 17, 1832, arriving at Fort Dearborn the next morning in an ox wagon. He at once began his ministrations for the relief of the cholera sufferers. He detected life in one young man supposed to be dead and by prompt and efficient work rescued him from a premature burial. During this trying time the assistance of Mr. Carpenter as nurse and pharmacist was invaluable. Being a man of powerful and wiry physique, great sympathies and indomitable perseverance and courage, no duty was too hard for him to undertake for the sake of the sick and the suffering.

When his goods arrived in August, 1832, Mr. Carpenter opened the first drug store in Chicago in the log cabin above described. This cabin, it will be remembered, was owned by Mark Beaubien and was situated at the northeast corner of Lake and Market streets. At the time Mr. Carpenter rented it for his drug store it was the only vacant structure in Chicago, and although it was small and rough and next door to the public bar of the Sauganash hotel, it was taken as a last resort. Mr. Carpenter was strict in his temperance principles and hated the use or sale of alcoholic liquors. Being also a man of profound religious convictions and some austerity, it may well be imagined that he found the merry crowd at the Sauganash with the best fiddler in town as the host rather too lively for his tastes. The cabin of which we speak had originally been used by Mr. Beaubien as an inn on a small scale, but was abandoned when he built the Sauganash hotel early in 1832. The Sauganash was a two story frame structure painted white, with bright blue blinds and was a very pretentious building for the times. It stood on Market street adjoining the little log house, which presented the singular appearance of a "lean-to" occupying one of the most prominent corners in town. Early settlers will remember that the corner was the site of the old Wigwam where Lincoln was first nominated for president, while more recent arrivals in the city will recognize the location as the present site of Reid, Murdoch & Company's wholesale grocery house. Mr. Beaubien relates that sometimes when the Sauganash was full of guests he used to put the overflow in the log house. Furniture and bedding were scarce, so the late comers had to take blankets and sleep on the floor. If still later guests came he would quietly remove the blankets from those who were asleep and give them to the last arrivals.

In the latter part of 1832 or the first of the following year Mr. Carpenter removed his store to the log cabin of George W. Dole at South Water and Clark streets previously used by Newberry & Dole as a commission house, where he remained until the autumn of 1833. Prior to this time he had bought two 20-foot lots on South Water street 80 feet east of Wells street. For these he paid $75. Here he erected some time in 1833 a two-story frame building covering both lots, the lumber for which double store was hauled from Indiana on ox wagons, and in the fall of that year he moved his drug stock into the west apartment and rented the east store to Russell & Clift as a book store. It may be well to say here that the book stores of the period were the authorized agents for a number of patent medicines. Thus, Stephen F. Gale, one of the early booksellers, advertised that he was the sole agent for Brandreth's Pills and that their sale was not entrusted to druggists. Russell & Clift had the agency for Morrison's Vegetable Pills. Book stores also sold tooth brushes, combs and a general line of druggists' sundries.

The original intention of Mr. Carpenter was to run a drug store exclusively, but owing to the peculiar conditions with which all merchants at that time were surrounded, he found himself compelled to broaden the scope of his business. For this there were several reasons. Another drug and general store had been started in 1833—that of Peter Pruyne & Co.—and the town was not yet large enough to support two stores dealing exclusively in drugs, nor was it large enough properly to support one store of that class. The population in 1833 was estimated at about 350 people, so that in order to make any money druggists had to branch out into general lines. The other stores carried grocers' drugs and dyestuffs, and, owing to the scarcity of currency, a large part of the business done was by a system of barter called "store pay." Farmers and others who needed goods took what they had to sell and traded it at the stores for what they needed. The storekeeper then had to dispose of the goods so left in whatever way might be most advantageous. In this manner every merchant in a short time was compelled to become a general storekeeper unless he was inclined to do a credit business entirely.

To illustrate the stock kept by the early druggists it is interesting to note that in the Chicago Democrat of Nov. 26, 1833, Vol. I, No. 1, Mr. Carpenter advertised a general assortment of drugs, medicines, oils, paints and dyestuffs; also dry groceries, window glass, nails, hardware, boots and shoes, ready made clothing, leather and everything found in a general store. The store was designated by the sign of the golden mortar and bore the legend conspicuously placed, "Established in 1832." The other competitor in the drug line carried a similar stock.

The scarcity of currency has been spoken of in connection with the system of store pay, and it was this scarcity that was responsible for the system. During the period of which we speak very little American gold was in circulation. What gold coins there were con-

sisted of English sovereigns and half-sovereigns and the French Louis d'Or. The silver money was principally made up of Mexican coins, and were called the New York sixpence, the shilling and two shilling piece. If coins were much worn, a scratch in the form of an X was made across them and then the sixpence, shilling and double shilling pieces passed for 5, 10 and 20 cents each respectively, instead of for 6, 12½ and 25 cents each.

Thompson's Bank Note Reporter was the authority as to the value and genuineness of all money, whether of metal or paper. Prior to 1835 practically the only currency available was the silver coin just referred to and traders' scrip which was good for merchandise. About 1834, however, when the land boom began, the necessity for more currency became acute and the banks began issuing paper. The State Bank of Illinois issued paper money and opened a branch in Chicago, of which branch bank Peter Pruyne was a director. Eastern and southern banks also issued paper, which found its way to the west. The town issued scrip good for taxes; merchants issued scrip good for merchandise, or good for about anything from a night's lodging to a drink at the bar. Canal scrip was much used and State Auditor's scrip was popular. Of all this paper, some was good and the rest ranged downward in all degrees of badness to utter worthlessness.

The Chicago branch of the State Bank was opened in December, 1835, and the bank and all it branches suspended payment and failed utterly in 1837. Such were a few of the conditions with which early merchants, druggists as well as others had to contend.

The question of freight and transportation was one of great moment. There were no railroads and nearly all the lake traffic was in sailing vessels. Steam craft were few and far between. It took 14 days under good conditions for a letter to go from Chicago to New York. For freight to come from New York required a much longer period, the date of its arrival being an uncertain quantity dependent upon the caprice of wind and wave. The first shipment of western produce left the port of Chicago for the east on the schooner "Napoleon" April 17, 1833. It consisted of beef tallow and hides, and 210¼ pounds of beeswax. This shipment was made by George W. Dole. In the latter part of the same year he shipped a quantity of ginseng and flax seed. We find that in 1847 drugs and medicine were imported to Chicago to the amount of $92,081.41. In the same year was exported 5,390 pounds of beeswax, 2,262 bushels of flax seed, 520 bushels of mustard seed and 3,625 pounds of ginseng root. One of the standing want ads of a Chicago wholesale drug house at this time (1847) was as follows: "Wanted—1,000 lbs. beeswax; 1,000 lbs. ginseng root; 500 lbs. saffron; 1,000 lbs. Senega snake root."

In July, 1833, a public meeting was held to decide whether or not the town should be incorporated, and here a druggist becomes a factor in the political affairs of the town. In the drug store of Peter Pruyne & Company this important meeting was held, and Dr. Edward S. Kimberly, the druggist of the firm, was secretary of the meeting.

There were 12 votes for incorporation and one against. At the election, which was held the following month, it was found that there were 28 qualified voters, of whom 13 were candidates. The trustees elected were T. J. V. Owen, George W. Dole, Madore B. Beaubien, John Miller and E. S. Kimberly. Philo Carpenter was a candidate and received one vote, but several other worthy citizens fared no better. It may have been the general impression that Mr. Carpenter's scruples against the sale and use of alcoholic beverages might cause a certain awkwardness if he were a member of the governing body of a young and flourishing city. The suggestion is our own. We find no reason stated in the records for his defeat.

The drug store in which the meeting noted above was held was the second drug store in Chicago. The house of Peter Pruyne & Co., as already noted, was not an exclusive drug store. It was a general store with a drug department under the charge of Dr. Kimberly. Peter Pruyne appeared as managing partner of the general business and to save the ethical standing of Dr. Kimberly, who furnished the capital, but could not properly appear at the head of a mercantile establishment while engaged actively in the practice of medicine.

As Philo Carpenter was the first druggist in Chicago and Peter Pruyne & Co. the second druggists; W. H. & A. F. Clarke were the third, Frederick Thomas the fourth; L. M. Boyce the fifth; Erastus Dewey the sixth; and Sidney Sawyer the seventh. Each of these will be spoken of more fully in another part of this chronicle.

From 1834 to 1860, several druggists were members of the board of health during various years. Among them were Dr. E. S. Kimberly, F. C. Hargaman, F. A. Bryan, F. Mahla and Ambrose Burnham.

Botanic remedies "the herbs and roots" were in vogue during the 30's, for in 1835 a druggist named W. G. Austin advertised botanic and Thompsonian medicines. Another, John J. Keenan, advertised vapor baths, botanical and Thompsonian medicines.

The second decade in the history of pharmacy in Chicago, that from 1840 to 1850, was one of progress and development. The financial crisis of 1837 had left business enterprises of all kinds stranded and helpless, and it was not until the early 40's that commercial activity began again to re-assert itself. At the opening of the decade there were four drug stores in Chicago that had, with more or less success, weathered the financial storm. These were the houses of Philo Carpenter, Clarke & Co., L. M. Boyce and Sidney Sawyer. Each one kept also a general line of goods. By the operation of a general bankruptcy act passed by Congress in 1842, general prosperity began to revive and with it the prosperity of the four drug stores.

In 1845 a drug store appeared without the lines of a general store. Drugs, chemicals and medicines and the usual other lines of an exclusive drug establishment were carried. This store was owned by the firm of Stebbins & Reed, who had been encouraged to locate here by the advice of L. M. Boyce, who, when approached by Mr. Reed, told him that Chicago was the right place to which to come to

begin the drug business, and gave Mr. Reed every assurance of his sympathy and practical assistance should he and his partner decide to locate here. Before the end of this decade we find other firms, such as Brinckerhoff & Penton; F. Scammon; Sears & Bay; Louis Warlich; Henry Bowman & Co.; Frederick Rosemerckle; and George Bormann.

The exterior of the drug stores of early days was not imposing. There was no plate glass for the windows and the panes were small. The windows usually set out a little on the sidewalk and at night were covered with board shutters with an iron strap passing around the boards and fastening to the wall to hold the whole together. Fanciful names and signs were in common use, such as the sign of "The Golden Mortar," "The Good Samaritan," "The Checkered Drug Store," "Apothecary Hall," "The New York Cheap Cash Drug Store," etc.

The furniture of the early drug stores was simple and plain, the prescription case being then as now a prominent feature of the store. The drawers then in use were much larger, the shelf bottles were not so generally glass stoppered and their arrangement was the reverse of that now in vogue, the larger ones being on the top shelves. Wide mouthed, glass-stoppered bottles were not common, but a specie jar with a tin cover was used. The labels of the drawers and the glass shelf ware were of bronze paper. Glass show cases were an almost unknown quantity, and shelving enclosed by glass doors was not even dreamed of. The show bottles for the windows were then about as they are now, except that they were larger and consisted of more pieces, the lower one holding from three to five gallons of water. The ponderous iron mortar, a tincture press and a Swift's drug mill were the ever present dread of the apprentice.

There were some differences between the stocks kept by early druggists and those now found in modern drug stores. There were more drugs, chemicals, paints, oils, varnishes and dye stuffs then than now, for people came to the drug store for about everything they could not get at the dry goods or grocery stores.

Druggists did a large business aside from furnishing medicines for the saddle bags of the country physicians. They not only supplied the country merchants, but also the newly opened lumber camps with such things as castor oil, sweet oil, essence of lemon, peppermint, cinnamon and wintergreen; with British oil, Bateman's drops, Turlington's balsam. Godfrey's cordial, condition powders, seidlitz powders, soda powders, quinine, calomel, blue mass, aloes, opium and the common roots and herbs such as boneset and horehound, not forgetting the then known patent or proprietary medicines, and the grocers' drugs so-called, such as borax, epsom and glauber salt, copperas, sal soda, saleratus, alum, etc. Much stuff such as above described was also sold in packages to peddlers who made the rounds of the country districts in covered wagons. The farmers brought in beeswax, ginseng root, flax seed, hemp seed, etc., which they used in trade along with other produce in lieu of currency.

In the early days there was a great demand for English and French drugs and chemicals, such as English calomel and French quinine. This calomel was not always free from corrosive sublimate and during the 60' several deaths resulted from this cause.

Patent medicines played a prominent part in the business of the drug stores during these times, but as we have already noted, the book stores enjoyed exclusive privileges on many of these brands. The patents sold by drug stores were of great variety, however, even then, and included such goods as Bristol's Sarsaparilla, Sawyer's Extract of Bark, Morrison's Hygeian Pills, Lee's English Vegetable Pills, Dewey's Cholera Elixir, Doctor Egan's Sarsaparilla, etc.

Among the many things sold was rattlesnake oil, which came by the barrel and was supposed by laymen to be a prime specific for rheumatism. Elephant oil was reputed to give a strong light, as good as that of sperm oil, and it sold at about a third less than the latter commodity. In February, 1841, Sidney Sawyer advertised that he had just received six barrels of corn oil. We know what corn oil is now, but at that period what was it? In 1852 John Sears advertised Sea Serpent Oil as a preparation highly recommended by the London, Edinburgh and United States pharmacopoeias for the cure of coughs, colds, etc. Was this Cod Liver Oil?

The proprietors of the early drug stores of the West were men of education and strong personality. They conducted themselves with becoming dignity, were looked up to by their fellow citizens and have left a record of which their descendants may well be proud. The first druggist in Chicago was foremost in all charitable and philanthropic movements, the second was one of the founders of Rush Medical College and was a leader among the men who had the political and economic welfare of the community at heart. Another was prominent in organizing the first fire department, still another was foremost in the advocacy of sanitary measures for minimizing Zymotic diseases and was one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences and of the Chicago Historical Society, and there was still another who originated the present system of tunnels and cribs for supplying Chicago with potable water from the lake. Another became prominently identified with Chicago's manufacturing interests, and so citations might be multiplied.

Coming to the clerks, we find that they also were men of sterling worth. Those who are still alive are to be found as leaders of the profession in this city or wherever they may be located between here and the Pacific coast. The salary of a drug clerk in those days did not depend on how many nostrums he sold, but upon what his knowledge and skill were in preparing and dispensing drugs and medicines. These qualifications fixed his compensation and his employer's estimate of him.

With regard to apprentices, while it was not customary to make written indentures of apprenticeship, yet there was invariably a contract, verbal or written, to the effect that the apprenticeship should cover a period of four years. The compensation was usually fixed at the rate of

$100 for the first year with an additional raise of $100 for each succeeding year. To be an apprentice in the drug business in those days was any thing but an enviable position; in fact, the work required from the apprentice deterred many from continuing in the business until they had served their full time and become competent to assume the position and duties of a clerk. Very few retail stores had a porter to do the hard work, hence it was a continual grind for the apprentice from morning until night. He had to sweep out the store and dust the shelf-ware daily, mop the floor and wash the windows weekly, wash the bottles, grind in the mill or powder in the mortar all the drugs, roots, barks, etc., not omitting to mention the tedious process of making mercurial ointment. He powdered the gum resins in the cold winter days, ran all the errands and made himself generally useful to everybody and did everything that he was able to do. When the evening came it was expected that he would study the dispensatory, beginning with A and going through to Z, and later, when the soda fountain was added to the equipment of the store, he was entrusted with this additional work. Many fell by the wayside and took up other occupations, but those who had the courage to remain received a training which made them leaders in their profession.

The literature of the pioneer druggist was very meagre, his professional library being a copy of the United States Dispensatory or Coxe's American Dispensatory, sometimes a stray copy of the London, Edinburgh or Dublin Dispensatories, and possibly a copy of Kane's or Fownes' Chemistry. The American Journal of Pharmacy, the first publication in the English language devoted to pharmacy, reached us in the 40s and in 1856 the Druggists' Circular and Chemical Gazette became a monthly visitor in the more progressive stores. The real lore of the drug business, however, was confined to the private formulary of the store. In this important time was found a collection not only of private formulas, but also of official formulas and processes of the pharmacopoeias and other standard works.

The earliest educational efforts of a scientific character made in Chicago date back to the winter of 1840, when Dr. John T. Temple gave a public course of lectures on chemistry, supplemented in 1843 by the regular course in Rush Medical College. The following extract from the Chicago Daily American of May 16, 1842, may not be devoid of interest in this connection: "We understand that Doctor Brainard has accepted the appointment of Professor of Anatomy in the St. Louis University, but will not be absent from Chicago except during the continuance of the winter courses."

In 1853 the American Pharmaceutical association issued a circular letter making inquiry into the condition of pharmacy as it existed in the various sections of the country. A correspondent member was appointed for Illinois, the result of which action was that three Chicago druggists became member of the association. From this time on there was a rapid advance in the professional side of the drug

business, and the names of Charles Ellis, William Procter Edward Parrish and other members of the national organization became familiar shop words.

A movement was started for the establishment of a school of pharmacy and was so well received by members of the trade that the Chicago College of Pharmacy was organized and incorporated, and in the winter of 1859 a complete course was given and continued until the breaking out of the war in 1861.

As we have already seen, the first attempts to maintain a drug store pure and simple ended in failure, the pioneers who started with drug stocks only having later to add the goods sold in general stores. It was not until the '40s that an exclusive drug store was successful, and not until 1850 did the drug stores part company with the lines of the general stores. But it must not be assumed from this that business was generally poor, for quite the reverse seems to have been the case. Chicago has always been a great grain market, and in the early days the farmers from a radius of from 50 to 100 miles around the city brought in their grain and other produce by wagon and received in exchange their necessary supplies. Business was therefore unquestionably good in those days, as is evidenced by the following extract from the diary of one of Chicago's earliest druggists, who commenced business in October, 1839, with a $2,000 drug stock.

"I had no trouble in selling nearly everything for money at a great profit during the course of the winter. In December, 1838, or January, 1839, I purchased a lot of drugs and medicines bought late in the fall from the east, amounting to about $300. These also I sold in the course of the winter at a fair profit, although they were bought high. About January, I sent an order to Boston for about $500 worth of goods to be shipped to this place via. New Orleans. They arrived about the 20th of April and by the middle of the next month they were mostly sold."

In 1852 the first railroad entered Chicago from the east. It was pushed through from Niles, Mich., and was known as the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana railroad. The next one to come in was the Michigan Central. After these roads were built goods were, of course, much more readily obtained from the eastern markets. The freight charges were high, however, hence most of the heavy goods were shipped via the Hudson river, Erie canal and lakes by steamer to Chicago, the lighter goods coming through by rail. It was the custom for the wholesale merchants and the larger retailers to visit the eastern markets in the fall and early spring for goods. The railroads early learned a way to increase their earnings, for as soon as navigation closed in the fall, up went the freight rates to be hauled down again to more moderate figures as soon as navigation opened up again in the spring.

Goods came principally from New York and Boston—drugs from New York and sundries from Boston. New York bills were figured at eight shillings to the dollar and Boston bills six shillings. In the early days there was much trade with St. Louis, which was then the

metropolis of the west. We find among the files of a paper of this period the advertisement of Joseph Charles & Co., St. Louis, importers and wholesale dealers in drugs, medicines, paints, oils and dye stuffs.

The financial stringency which brought on the several financial crises caused Chicago merchants to adopt various expedients for lessening or avoiding the high rate of exchange charged by eastern banks. Not the least interesting of these expedients was the purchase of alcohol to be used in the payment of debts. Other local products such as beeswax, ginseng, saffron and senega snake root were used for the same purpose. In order to save the amount of the high exchange charged, as well as the discount on western bank bills, these products, especially alcohol, were purchased by western merchants and shipped east in payment of accounts. The alcohol thus used was purchased from the local distilleries. It was crude alcohol, all of the refined article we got being bought in New York. High wines cost from 7 to 8 cents a gallon, and alcohol from 17 to 20 cents. We exported both high wines and alcohol.

During the early '50s the first chemical works of which we have a record was established by Dr. J. V. Z. Blaney, professor of chemistry in Rush Medical College, in conjunction with Dr. Gerhard Christian Paoli, who later became a well known physician of Chicago and died only recently. The company made pure spirits from crude alcohol, which was manufactured here, but had not before been rectified in this city. Dr. Paoli's process was a superior one and he was awarded several medals for it. Dr. Paoli in 1856 severed his connection with the company and took up the practice of medicine. His position as chemist of the company was taken by A. Beno Hoffmann, a German apothecary from Dresden, who increased the number of products made by the company. The works were located on the east bank of the river, at Chicago avenue. Mr. Hoffman afterwards went into the drug business and remained in it until his death, which occurred after the fire. There were several chemical manufacturers in the '60s, among whom were Mahla & Chappell; J. Rosenheld & Co.; Dietz, Blocki & Co., Henry Biroth, etc. The manufacturers of linseed oil and lard oil included a number of early apothecaries, such as the Clarkes, Boyce, Scammon, Sears and others.

Side lines in the '40s and '50s included surgical instruments and optical goods, opera glasses, daguerreotypic and photographic goods.

During the '40s most of the drug stores moved from South Water street on to Lake street. There were, however, three German stores in different localities, one being on North Clark street, one on East Randolph street and a third on Wells street (now Fifth avenue).

Few physicians in the first decade of the city's history wrote prescriptions, but bought the remedies at the drug stores and dispensed them themselves. The public got at the drug stores simply the common drugs, household remedies, dye stuffs, patents, paints, etc., but in 1845 Stebbins & Reed entered the field and went more exclusively into the prescription business. A set of prescription books was

started by this firm in May, 1845, and was continued through the successive firm changes until the time of the fire in 1871. They were saved from the fire by W. K. Forsyth, E. B. Stuart and W. H. Maynard. The books are yellow with age, but are in good condition and all the old formulas and prescriptions can be read easily. It is evident that in the early days business was not brisk, for when the books were first started there was an average of only two or three prescriptions a day. The prices were not materially different from those which prevail today, but were expressed in shillings and pence. As a rule prescriptions were simple, consisting usually of not more than three ingredients. Quinine leads in popularity, with calomel and blue mass close behind, and decoctions and infusions are frequent. Not a single proprietary remedy is found to have been prescribed. Such old terms as James' Powders, Hepar Sulphuris, Saccharum Saturni and Tris Nitrate Bismuth, Tr. Lyttæ, Emplastrum Epistastricum, are found. Lupulin was frequently prescribed as an anodyne instead of opium, and phosphate of ammonia was often used. Iodide of potassium was often designated as "hyd. potassa." The more prominent prescribers are men whose names are familiar to those who know the history of this section of the country. Among them are Dr. Boone, grandson of Daniel Boone and once mayor of Chicago; Charles V. Dyer, one of the great abolitionists; Dr. J. V. Z. Blaney, the chemist; Dr. Brainerd, Dr. Herrick, Dr. Knapp and Dr. Kimberley. Dr. Blaney and those whose names follow his were the founders of Rush Medical College. Among others Drs. J. J. Stewart, Egan, Duk, Banks, Bird, Maxmeyer, Maxwell, Marshall, Eldredge, Beardsley, were frequent prescribers. Among the patients were the Rev. Mr. Patterson, Rev. Mr. Bascom, Mr. Walter C. Newberry, who gave the Newberry library: P. F. W. Peck, father of the commissioner general to the Paris exposition; Andrew Nelson and Iver Lawson, prominent among the pioneer Norwegians; Mayors Garrett and Wentworth and others.

Soda water first became a feature of drug store trade and was by the drug stores first introduced in the thirties. It was first advertised by Sidney Sawyer and Clark & Co., in 1839. The fountains of that day were not as those of the present. Then the coolers and tanks were under the counter with the draught arm projecting up through it. The syrup was in bottles and the variety of flavors was hardly so great as at present. An advertisement in a Chicago paper dated July 15, 1851, says that A. J. Miller's soda fountain in his store on West Lake street is doing a great business and that the water is charged with carbonic gas up to 578 pounds to the square inch, or nearly 40 atmospheres. (?) It is related that during the fifties, when J. H. Reed & Co's. fine store on Lake street was the rendezvous of all the fashionables, a negro came in one day and called for a glass of soda water. The clerk refused to serve him. The colored man left in high dudgeon and from that time on the store was tabooed by the colored population and their sympathizers. The firm tried to make matters right by putting in another draught

arm on the other side of the counter for colored people only, but the scheme failed to work and the additional space was finally fitted up for ladies and children.

The stores of this period were as a rule far superior in their furnishing and equipment to the earlier drug stores. In this connection we note the following announcement of J. H. Reed & Co. in the Chicago Daily Democrat of Oct. 29, 1851:

"Splendid Store.—Messrs. J. H. Reed & Company, Druggists. have removed their business from their old stand at 159 Lake street, to the spacious and handsome block at 144 Lake street, erected this season by Mr. J. Price. The store is fitted up in the most magnificent style, with marble mosaic floors, Italian marble counters, etc., while tastefully arranged around are statuary, vases, urns, etc. In fact, the fitting up is not excelled by that of any similar establishment in the country."

"Messrs. Reed & Company intend doing an exclusively prescription business at their new store, the back and upper alone being used for the wholesale trade."

It was during the decade of which we speak that the shelveglassware of the stores began to take on a finer finish and quality. It was uniformly glass stoppered, the saltmouthed bottles being used. Glass labels such as are now used came in about this time also. At first nothing but the green glassware of Pittsburg consisting of the short and long round prescription vials was used but later Boston and Philadelphia entered the field and the flint glassware of today came into general use.

The labels of the early days were very plain in character, any job printer being able to set them up. Later on the Gibsons, a firm of lithographers, opened an establishment in Cincinnatti and for a long time supplied the country at large with lithographic labels.

It was during the '50s that gas first came into general use as an illuminant. It was first turned on as a test on Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1850, in the stores of J. H. Reed & Co., druggists at 144 Lake street, and William B. Keene & Co., booksellers, 146 Lake street. The test was made during the day and that night the gas throughout the city was turned on, producing an illumination, if one may believe the press reports of the period, equal to that of the sun, or, as they said, turning night into day. The new illuminant was the exciting topic of the times. Persons, however, who did not have gas had to continue using the old methods, which ranged from tallow dip and smoking sperm or lard oil lamps of the '30s up to the most improved quality of camphine or burning fluid. The camphine was a rectified oil of turpentine. The burning fluid was one part camphine and four parts alcohol. Both were highly explosive and imflammable and many accidents occurred in the careless use of them. Tallow dips, lard oil, sperm oil, elephant oil, camphine and burning fluid were used for lighting until 1858, when they were to a great extent replaced by kerosene, which was distilled from cannel coal, hence the name "coal

oil." This first was made in Maysville, Ky. The word kerosene was originally a trade mark. In 1858 the substance known by that name retailed at $1.50 per gallon. When petroleum began to be found in quantities in Pennsylvania, it was found that it could be refined and sold for a less price than the patented article, hence come into more general use. Kerosene can now be bought at retail for one-tenth the same it brought 43 years ago.

Speaking of petroleum recalls the fact that crude petroleum in the early days of pharmacy was known as Seneca oil, stone oil, rock oil, etc., from the fact that it was originally gathered by the Seneca Indians from the surface of rivers and streams in the oil bearing districts. Finding a stream whose surface was covered with oil the Indians would spread their blankets upon it. These were wrung out as soon as they had absorbed all the oil they would hold and the oil was sold to the white men to be used as medicine. This traffic was carried on a long time before petroleum wells were discovered.

During the '50s business spread south on State, Clark, Wells and Canal streets to Twelfth street, westward on West Lake, Madison, Van Buren and Harrison streets to Halsted street, and north on Clark and Wells streets to Division street.

During this decade there were 11 wholesale druggists doing business in Chicago. Their names were J. H. Reed & Co.; O. F. Fuller & Co.; F. Scammon & Co.; Bay & Baldwin; Sears & Smith; Bockee, Innes & Co., Lurton & Harris; Barclay Bros.; Penton & Robinson; Sawyer, Paige & Co ; Shipman & Goodrich; and their successors during the decade.

At the close of the 50's there were ten wholesale and 73 retail drug stores in Chicago. Business and prosperity were beginning to revive after the panic of 1857 and the outlook seemed bright for prosperous times, when the darkening shadow of the coming civil conflict began to make itself apparent, and turned the attention of business men and others to the great conflict which was impending. Upon the breaking out of the war in 1861, all other thoughts were swept away and in place of hope and confidence came turmoil and confusion, as a result of the appeal to arms many druggists and clerks enlisted for the defense of their country. Among them we find the names of William H. Gale of Gale Brothers; John W. Ehrman; Lucius S. Larrabee; Henry Biroth, Thomas Whitfield; W. C. Scupham, William F. Blocki, Luther F. Humiston, T. J. Bluthardt, C. F. Pfannstiel, H. D. Garrison, J. M. Woodworth, J. J. Siddall, C. Lewis Diehl, Capt. J. C. Borcherdt and Capt. W. G. Morris. Most of the foregoing gentlemen were clerks at the time of their enlistment, and since the war took so many young men away from the profession it became very difficult to run or dispose of a drug store on account of the scarcity of clerks. Many a man would have gone to the front if he could have gotten rid of his business, but could neither get anyone to buy it nor to run it.

During the war the unsettled condition of the country, the depreciation of the currency, the tendency to speculation, the large de-

mand for medical supplies and the cutting off altogether of such supplies as came from the territory where the war was raging, such as those known as naval stores, forced prices up to almost prohibitive figures. The prices of some of such supplies during the war were as follows: Oil of turpentine rose from 50 cents to $3.00 and $4.00 per gallon, and resin from $1.00 per barrel to $50 and $60 per barrel. Ipecac was $6 per pound, jalap, $3.50 per pound; opium, $15 per pound; rhubarb, $3.50 per pound; senega, $1.50; serpentaria, $2.50; spigilia, $3.50; quinine, $3.50 per ounce, and morphine, $11 per ounce

J. H. Reed & Co. became the purveyors of medical supplies for the armies of the west and southwest, and this gave the firm an immensely increased business. Chicago became the general supply depot for all the troops in this section or adjacent to it. These conditions continued throughout the war and made war times prosperous ones for the merchants of Chicago. Of course, there were also some hardships, which remained long after the war closed. These especially affected the drug business and included the tax on alcohol, the stamp tax on proprietary remedies, perfumery, etc., and the special internal revenue tax on druggists as vendors of spirits.

During the war there seems to have been but little to record of direct interest to the drug trade. The great conflict overshadowed all else in the public prints and affairs of minor moment received scant attention. At the close of the war, however, matters which had claimed attention before began to re-assert themselves. The Chicago College of Pharmacy was re-organized and the publication of "The Pharmacist," a monthly periodical was begun. The close of the war and the disbanding of the army brought about a great increase in the number of those engaged in the drug business. There was no pharmacy law and anyone might conduct a drug store who wished to. There were 30 more drug stores in Chicago in 1865 than in 1861. Numbers of young men, who in the army had to do with the dispensing of medical supplies or had acted as nurses, and thus acquired some slight familiarity with the leading drugs and medicines in use for the treatment of disease, entered the drug business from lack of any other remunerative vocation. Some of these young men had entered the army without any trade, and on being discharged, had to earn a living in some way; so, having dispensed drugs in the service, they continued the practice in private life. The conditions became such soon after the war that the newspapers of Chicago and of the country at large began calling editorial attention to the many mistakes made by incompetent persons engaged in the drug business, and stringent laws regulating the practice of pharmacy were urged. An editorial in the Chicago Times of May 9, 1869, by the editor, Wilbur F. Storey, himself a former druggist of education and experience, states the situation and the remedy in the following language:

"The country is overrun with druggists one-third of whom graduated in the business after having served no more than six months as students. One effect of increasing the standard of qualifications in

prescription clerks would be to drive out three-fifth of those in the business into some other calling. With a scarcity of experienced druggists would come a thinning out of drug stores. With the latter would come better drugs. Now, the cheapness of men who have only a smattering of the business enables and encourages everybody to start a drug establishment. The great number thus in operation leads to a competition in business, which leads to adulteration of drugs. Thus the vicious system of employing incapable men reacts disastrously through the whole department. To make the business one attainable only by experienced men is equivalent to lessening materially the chances of being poisoned directly by the wrong drugs, or indirectly by inferior ones."

The agitation by the press of the country became so great that in several states, notably in New York, pharmacy legislation was enacted. These laws were drawn by unauthorized persons, not skilled in pharmacy and it is not strange that the situation was not understood by them and the laws were failures. In order, therefore that the public should be adequately protected and the interests of pharmacy be conserved, the American Pharmaceutical Association, at its meeting in Chicago in 1869, listened to the report of a committee appointed the preceding year to draft a model pharmacy law to be presented to the legislatures of the several states. The report of the committee embodied a draft of a bill which was in many respects original. It is not here necessary to go into its provisions, but it is sufficient to say that since the promulgation of this model bill, all pharmacy legislation in the United States has been modeled on the same general plan and embodied some of the more important features of the proposed law. The report of the above mentioned committee was, however, not adopted, for upon discussion, it was deemed inadvisable to commit the association directly to the proposition that pharmacy legislation was necessary; but the report was accepted as stating the general principles upon which pharmacy legislation should be based in case the several states should attempt it.

The druggists of Chicago, having noted the injudicious law passed in New York, and fearing an attempt at like legislation here, met in the early part of 1871 and appointed a committee to draft a suitable law to be presented to the Legislature, which was to meet that year in Chicago. This committee consisted of Messrs. George Buck, Thomas Whitfield and E. H. Sargent, who made a draft of a bill, which was discussed, amended and finally adopted by the druggists of the city as a model to be submitted to the Legislature. The principles emphasized in the proposed bill have in the main been adopted in subsequent laws of the State. The measure was to have been presented to the Legislature, which had intended to meet in Chicago during the winter of 1871–'72, but the fire of the former year drove every other consideration out of mind and no pharmacy law was passed until the winter of 1880.

We now come to the great fire of October, 1871, which in two days swept out of existence the entire business part and much of the residence portion of Chicago. We have thought it advisable here to quote verbatim from "The Pharmacist" of November and December, 1871, giving in some detail the results of the calamity in so far as they affected the drug trade of Chicago. "The Pharmacist" said:

"The great calamity of the 8th and 9th ultimo, which henceforth will constitute the hegira of Chicago, overtook us with so many other thousands. The whole machinery which kept 330,000 people moving, suddenly stopped, overwhelmed by a catastrophe unprecedented in history. Chicago, peerless in the rapidity with which she has mounted up the heights of prosperity, in the magnitude of her woe still leads the world. Never did two sides of a picture stand so sharply contrasted as the past of yesterday and the present of today for this proud city. As contrasted with the other great fires of history, that of Chicago, in the gross value of property consumed and the area devastated is beyond question the most overwhelming that ever overtook a city. All our readers are familiar with the outlines of Chicago's calamity. There are 2,500 acres burnt over, and on what other 2,500 acres was there ever garnered a richer harvest? In what other locality has there ever grown such persistent energy, such daring enterprise, such bold activity, such far reaching plans?

"Twenty thousand buildings have been destroyed, and 100,000 people have been turned into the streets and thrown out of employment. A list of the leading business houses destroyed in the conflagration filled four columns of the Tribune, small print. This list did not embrace 5,000 houses doing a partial wholesale business and the long array of retail establishments.

"All that the traveler recognizes of Chicago is destroyed. Its familiar hotels and trade palaces, magnificent churches, and library rooms, and public halls, and art galleries, and colossal manufactories, and imperial depots are all swept away. The ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii could but inadequately represent this sudden and overwhelming calamity.

"We can not dismiss this subject without a word concerning the great wave of sympathy which has set toward Chicago from every part of the world. Such a going forth of help, instant and mighty, was never before known in human history. While the hungry flames were still devouring our beautiful city help came from every city from Maine to the Gulf. St. Louis and Cincinnati, our rival sisters, opened their hands widely for our relief. Swifter than bird ever sped to its nest came the relief which was never more greatly needed. Europe, even, was awake to our calamity; and from London, Liverpool and Frankfort-on-the-Main came immediate and tangible help.

"No department of our mercantile interests suffered more generally, or in proportion to the capital invested, more severely, in the great fire than did the drug trade. Of the 160 retailers of drugs in the city, 50, or more than one-third of the whole number, lost their all by the widespread devastation. It would be difficult or impossible

to give an accurate estimate of their losses, but it may be confidently asserted that the sum total would not fall short of $400,000. These figures allude to losses of the retail druggists only. Among the sufferers were all the larger establishments whose location in the heart of the city, requiring large and varied stocks and expensive fixtures, secured to them a most extensive and valuable trade. Not only have our druggists lost their material possessions, but in many instances the advantages of a good reputation secured by long years of toil in certain localities were also wrested from them by the sudden depopulation of whole districts and the scattering of population. The successful druggist, however, has not secured that distinction without labor and hardship, and hard as it is to be thus cast adrift, he will be able to reach a safe anchorage, where many another mortal would sink to rise no more. A majority of apothecaries will be able to so arrange affairs as to recommence business.

"DRUGGISTS WHO HAVE SUFFERED.

"Below we give a list, nearly complete, of the druggists whose establishments were burned during the great fire. A few whose names we have been unable to ascertain, probably eight or ten, have been omitted:

"Retail—Henry Biroth, Blinn & Johnson, Bliss & Sharp, A. R. Bodney, Thomas Braun, Henry Bronold, W. S. Brown, Hanson C. Brock, F. A. Bryan, Buck & Rayner (two stores), J. F. Christian, C. F. Class, Dale & Heiland, D. R. Dyche & Co., Victor Erich, Ludwig Fernow, Calvin J. Fiske, L. Foss, Gale & Blocki, C. H. Gardner, Garrison & Murray (store and drug mill), Greenewald & Hoffman, James J. Harrington, H. W. Heuermann, A. Beno Hoffman, J. H. Hooper (two stores), Anton Hottinger, Huyck Bros., S. G. Israel, A. C. Knoelcke, B. H. Leavenworth & Company, T. J. Letourneaux, Moench & Reinhold, W. H. Mueller, C. D. B. O'Ryan, John Parsons, Henry Reuter, A. Rohde & Company, E. H. Sargent (store and laboratory), E. T. Schloetzer, Noble Schroeder, Henry Sherman, Joseph Sobey, E. L. Stahl, A. C. Vanderburg, Walker & Mann, White & Schoen, Thos. Whitfield & Company, C. M. Weinberger & Company.

"Wholesale—E. Burnham & Son, Hurlbut & Edsall; Lord, Smith & Company, Rockwood & Blocki; Tollman, King & Company, Van Schaack, Stevenson & Reed.

"Druggists' Sundries—Jones & Torrey.

"It will be seen that upwards of 50 retail druggists were burned out; such was the rapidity of the destruction that scarcely anything was saved, but few being fortunate enough to rescue even their books and prescription files. Those who were located on the North Side lost their dwellings and personal effects also. When we add that insurance will give an average return of perhaps 15 per cent, our readers can imagine the extent of the losses sustained. With the energy characteristic of Chicago several of the druggists whose stores

had been destroyed were located in new quarters before the expiration of the week, while others had equally early made arrangements for resuming business as soon as buildings could be procured.

The only business block in the region desolated by the fire which stands today unscathed is that known as Lind's Block, on the west side of Market street between Randolph and Lake; the buildings on the opposite side of the street suffered the common fate, but Lind's Block, favored by the unusual width of the street, and the direction of the wind, escaped. Occupying Nos. 20, 22 and 24 of this block, our fortunate friends, Messrs. Fuller & Fuller, wholesale druggists, were left intact, excepting a severe scorching and the loss of the numerous signs which formerly decorated their establishment. Their stock was uninjured; their immense business, amounting to $1,250,000 annually, suffered no serious interruption, though their stock for a brief time was well nigh exhausted by the unprecedented demand which followed the fire.

The following resume of the wholesale firms which were burned out will be of interest as given in the Pharmacist:

"Hurlbut & Edsall. This firm is well known throughout the country. Mr. Hurlbut having represented the drug business in the present firm and its immediate predecessor, J. H. Reed & Co., for a period of 28 years. Their annual business before the fire amounted to $800,000; stock carried about $180,000; was insured for $123,000, of which probably $70,000 will prove good. They are located at present at 619 State street, but will remove to a large brick store at the head of River street early next spring. The firm is prepared to do as heavy a business as formerly.

"E. Burnham & Son are temporarily located at Nos. 157-159 Canal street; they expect before long to regain their former business amounting to $500,000 a year. On their stock of $100,000 they hope to realize $40,000 from insurance.

"Van Schaack, Stevenson & Reed have located in the old Baptist church, corner of Wabash avenue and Eighteenth street. Their business has been very large and constantly increasing, requiring a stock on hand valued at $170,000. They have a complete stock and facilities for transacting their immense trade with their usual dispatch.

"Lord, Smith & Co. are in temporary wooden quarters on Washington street; will rebuild on their old site, 86 Wabash avenue, without delay. Their business has averaged for several years $700,000. They will be able to collect about 40 per cent of their insurance. The firm is fully prepared to honor the calls of all their old and many new customers.

"Tollman, King & Co., have resumed business at 53 West Lake street with ample facilities for trade. Their loss on stock was $120,000, one-half of which may be recovered from their policies.

Among the matters relating to the fire of 1871 we find the following in Rufus Blanchard's History of Chicago:

"In its early stages, after the flames had crossed the river and were rapidly devastating the business portion of the city in the south division, Lind Block, on the west side of Market street, between Randolph and Lake, by dint of great exertion on the part of some tenants, successfully resisted them. The well known house of Fuller & Fuller occupied the central portion of this block; and in reply to the writer's inquiry as to how it was saved, Mr. O. F. Fuller stated that while the fire was burning on the West Side and approaching toward them, they took the precaution to provide an abundant supply of water on each floor of their premises, and constantly applied it to the most exposed portions of the building when the fire reached their immediate vicinity, having previously cut away wooden signs or any other combustible material outside. During the greatest heat the outside walls of the block were too hot to bear the hand on, but still every man remained at his post inside on each floor, subject to the order of a sentinel, whose business it was to call them away if the building ignited. Three times a retreat was ordered under an impression that combustion had taken place, but happily this impression was a false alarm, growing out of the lurid glare from adjacent flames reflected from the windows of the building, and each time the men returned to their posts, where they continued to ply water on the heated windows while the fire was raging."

Said Mr. Fuller: "The fire, viewed from the roof of the Lind Block at this time, presented phases of thrilling interest. At 2:00 o'clock a. m. Market street and the approaches to the Lake and Randolph street bridges were crowded with loaded vehicles hurrying to to the West Side, and this retreat grew into a stampede when the Garden City hotel and the buildings on the east side of Market street, from Madison to South Water, ignited. After burning fiercely for but a brief space of time, they fell in quick succession in the general ruin."

"At night the soldiers detailed to guard the bank vaults in the burned district were quartered on the premises of Messrs. Fuller & Fuller."

Reverting to the account in The Pharmacist, that journal said further:

"One of the saddest things connected with the late fire, and peculiarly unfortunate as bearing on the interests of the science of pharmacy in the west, is the total loss of property belonging to the Chicago College of Pharmacy. This loss includes, of course, all its valuable furniture and appliances, apparatus and library—the most complete on chemistry and pharmacy to be found in the west—and a large and valuable cabinet, the labor of many years in selecting and accumulating.

"The course of lectures in this school (session of 1871 and 1872) commenced on Monday evening, October 2d. The course was inaugurated by an able introductory address by Mr. E. H. Sargent, president of the college. The lectures continued on the succeeding Wednesday, and on Friday evening Professors Ebert and Hambright delivered the last lectures ever given in the old rooms, endeared to the members of the college from the memories and associations of many years. With the destruction of the college all the appliances and means of illustrating lectures were lost and these cannot be instantly replaced. The Chicago Medical College, with characteristic generosity, tendered the use of their lecture room and chemical apparatus for the continuance of the contemplated course. In view of the fact that but a small portion of the class (numbering some 50) could be brought together, the absence of the proper means of illustrating a good course in pharmacy and materia medica, and lastly, the serious illness of Professor Hambright, forced the members of the faculty to abandon the course of the present season."

The College of Pharmacy of the City of New York and the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy adopted resolutions of sympathy for the members and faculty of the Chicago College of Pharmacy and tendered their courses of instruction without charge to the students of the Chicago College of Pharmacy. Quite a number of the students availed themselves of this invitation and finished their courses in New York or Philadelphia.

New York and San Francisco contributed a large sum of money for the relief of the suffering druggists and this was duly distributed by the Chicago College of Pharmacy and by Mr. J. H. Reed.

Immediately upon the receipt of the news in England concerning the disaster which had befallen the people of Chicago and the Chicago College of Pharmacy, a committee of English chemists and pharmaceutists was appointed, consisting of many of the most prominent men in the profession in England, to collect money, books and apparatus to be fowarded to the Chicago college. The executive arm of this committee consisted of Prof. John Attfield, Joseph Ines and Henry B. Brady. Mr. Brady had visited Chicago just previous to the fire and was therefore better able to judge the extent of the loss and the requirements of the college. The value of the books, apparatus, instruments and specimens for cabinets of materia medica, botany and chemistry thus contributed amounted to about $25,000. Contributions also came to the college from Paris and other cities of France, from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Russia, Italy, as well as material contributions from colleges of pharmacy, pharmaceutical associations, firms and individuals in our own country.

Philo Carpenter.

Mr. Carpenter opened the first drug store in Chicago. He was born in Massachusetts in 1805, learned the drug business in Troy, N. Y., and came to Chicago on July 18, 1832, during the cholera epidemic of that year, doing splendid service among the cholera stricken

Philo Carpenter, first Druggist in Chicago.

soldiers of Fort Dearborn. On Aug. 6, 1832, he rented a log cabin situated adjacent to and north of the Sauganash hotel and east of the Lake street bridge. We make this statement for the reason that we can find no record of any other log cabin in that vicinity similar to the one in which Mr. Carpenter opened his first store. Mr. Edward Hildreth, a son-in-law of Mr. Carpenter, makes, however, the following statement: "He opened his store on Monday, Aug. 6, 1832. This was in the little log house, which, as he used to tell us, stood not far from the eastern end of Lake street bridge. He never, so far as I can remember, located it on any street, but it must be remembered that it had been built and occupied for some time previous and that there was no survey—at least, no platting—before 1830. While there is the barest possibility that this log building was at one time occupied and even owned by Mark Beaubien—though if so, I think he (Mr. Carpenter) would at some time have mentioned it—I am confident that it was not, certainly, the log building occupied by that historic boniface of early Chicago, to which was afterward added a frame structure. This latter, as told me by Father Carpenter and noted down at the time, was a two-story log house, and to use his own words in locating it (and be it remembered that his own little log building, 16 x 20, leased, of course, where he opened out his first stock of drugs, was within a stone's throw of this location): "Mark Beaubien's log house hotel stood about midway between Randolph and Lake streets, fronting the river near the present middle of Market street."

There is no historic record of any log cabin near this location except that built by James Kinzie and afterward owned by Mark Beaubien. The Beaubien cabin was one-story high and was 16x20 feet—the same size as that of the cabin occupied by Mr. Carpenter. The Beaubien log cabin was found by the surveyor to be about the middle of Market street, and was therefore moved back upon the southeast corner of Market and Lake streets by Mr. Beaubien. When Mr. Carpenter arrived in Chicago Mr. Beaubien had just completed the new Sauganash Hotel, so that it is not improbable that the little log building was vacant when Mr. Carpenter got ready to open his store. No historian has spoken of another cabin of the kind in this vicinity. We have, therefore, taken the liberty to infer that it was the Beaubien cabin which Mr. Carpenter first occupied. Some additional weight may, perhaps, be lent to this theory by the fact that the moment that the Dole log building at the southeast corner of South Water and Clark streets was vacant, although it was in the midst of the winter of 1832, Mr. Carpenter moved his store into it, notwithstanding the fact that by so doing he moved away from the business center of the town. The Beaubien cabin was adjacent to the Sauganash Hotel, which contained a public bar and enjoyed a presumably hilarious patronage. Mr. Carpenter was a leader in church circles and was unalterably opposed to the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage, and could not, therefore, have found the Sauganash crowd the most acceptable next door neighbors.

Mr. Carpenter remained in the Dole building during a part of 1833, in which year he bought two 20-foot lots on South Water street, just east of Wells street, at what is now designated as Nos. 197 and 199 South Water street. For these two lots he paid a total of $75, here he erected a double store, the east part of which he rented to Russell & Clift as a book store, and himself occupied the west part as a drug and general store. This was in 1833, so that he remained in the Dole building only a few months. The new store which was opened in the fall of that year, was known by the sign of the "Gold Mortar" and bore over the door the legend, "Established in 1832." Mr. Carpenter advertised in the Chicago Democrat of Nov. 26, 1833, "a general assortment of drugs, medicines, oils, paints, dye stuffs, also dry groceries, glass, nails, hardware, boots, shoes, ready made clothing, leather, etc." In 1839 he advertised himself as a wholesale and retail druggist and general dealer in staple groceries.

About July 17, 1840, Mr. Carpenter moved to 143 Lake street, where he opened what was known as the "Checkered Drug Store." Here he remained for about two years, selling out in 1842 to Dr. John Brinckerhoff.

The record of Mr. Carpenter's clerks is scant. Abel E. Carpenter, a brother, came in 1833 and remained until 1836. Ezra Batcheller was with Mr. Carpenter in 1836 and later on it is recorded that he moved further west and became mayor of Lyons, Iowa. A Mr. Ladd probably followed Mr. Batcheller, in the clerkship. There was also a boy, referred to as Cornelius, whom Mr. Carpenter brought from the east in 1834. Cornelius seems to be the only name by which this boy is known to history.

Peter Pruyne & Company.

The firm of Peter Pruyne & Company, Dr. Edmund S. Kimberly being the partner, commenced business in 1832 at No. 133 South Water street, between Clark and Dearborn streets.

The members of the firm came from Troy, N. Y. Doctor Kimberly came first and looked over the field, afterward bringing his family and Peter Pruyne, a young man of ability in commercial pursuits. They arrived in May, 1832, and in the fall of that year the store was opened, it being the second drug store in Chicago,

Doctor Kimberly furnished the capital that went into the business and he took charge of the drug department, which was probably little more than an annex to the doctor's office. While Doctor Kimberly practiced medicine, Mr. Pruyne busied himself in a general oversight of the business. This drug department was in the front part of the store. The main store was on the south side of South Water street, about 80 feet east of Clark street. On the opposite side of the street was their dock, the first one built on the Chicago river, excepting only the United States government dock and warehouse at Fort Dearborn. (This dock property was disposed of by the trustees of the village for 999 years, for a nominal sum, the annual rental being one barleycorn!)

The store of Peter Pruyne & Company was not only commercially prominent in the early history of the city, but as we have already seen, it was well-known as a political rendezvous for the early and ambitious settlers of Chicago, the first meeting to discuss the advisability of incorporating the new town having been held in this store in August, 1833. Both Doctor Kimberly and Mr. Pruyne were at different times prominent politically. In 1833 Doctor Kimberly was elected a member of the first board of trustees of the newly incorporated city. Later he was a member of the board of health, in 1847 he was elected recorder of deeds and from 1850 to 1854 he served as county clerk of Cook county. Mr. Pruyne, aside from being prominent in all movements looking to the advancement of the city, held such offices as director of railroads, director of the State Bank of Illinois, clerk of the school board and was a State Senator at the time of his death.

In the second number of the Chicago Weekly Democrat, published by John Calhoun, under date of Dec. 3, 1833, the following advertisement appears: "Peter Pruyne & Company's store, on South Water street between Clark and Dearborn streets, has received a large addition to its former stock of drugs and medicines, groceries, hardware, crockery, glassware, boots and shoes, iron and steel, window glass, stoneware, pails, brooms, etc. Cash paid for all kinds of country produce."

From this time on we find in the issues of the Democrat frequent advertisements of the firm, relating to drugs, chemicals and medicines. Many of the then well-known patent medicines advertised designate the firm of Peter Pruyne & Co. as their Chicago agents. These advertisements continued until the cessation of the newspaper, in June, 1836.

The following letter shows that Peter Pruyne & Co. did a wholesale drug business in connection with their regular retail trade. The writer of the letter was a Joliet druggist. It is as follows:

"JULIET, June 25, 1835.

"DEAR DOCTOR—I have directed my brother to call on you for such articles as he wants, and if you can do as well by us as others, which I do not doubt, I shall be glad to send you orders occasionally as my assortment becomes broken.

Truly yours,

A. W. BOWEN.

To E. S. Kimberly, M. D."

The following invoice of proprietaries and sundries purchased April 28, 1837, by Peter Pruyne & Company, may not be without interest. The original is in Doctor Kimberly's handwriting:

"An invoice of medicines purchased April 28, 1837.

2½ doz. Soda Powders, 10	$ 3 73
2 doz. Ballards' Oil Soap, 16	4 00
½ doz. Imperial Dye, $5.00	2 50
2 doz. Catarrh Snuff, 10	2 50

½ doz. Hygean mixture, 12	$ 6 00
½ " " " 32	2 00
½ " West's Cosmetic, large, $12.00	6 00
½ " " " small, $6.00	3 00
1½ doz. Rawson's Itch Ointment, 12	1 50
9-12 " Artificial Nipples, $4.50	6 75
2 doz. Lavender Soap, 6	1 50
1 " Digestive Elixir, $4.50	4 50
½ doz. Green Plaster, 12	75
½ " Mastic Varnish, 18	1 13
9-12 " Bleaching Fluid, 10	94
½ " Indelible Ink, 18	1 13
1-2 " Sick Headache, 20	1 25
20 Porcelain Teeth, 6¼	1 25
½ doz. Metallic Corn Digester, 10	63
2 ½ doz. Morrison's Hygean Pills, $9	22 50
½ doz. Burnham's Drops, 18	1 13
½ " China Cement, 10	63
½ " Horse Medicine, $3.00	1 50
½ " Scudder's Eyewater, 12	75
3 " Lee's Pills, 10	6 00
1 " Bear's Oil, 10	1 25
½ " Ward's Hair Oil, $8.00	4 00
2-12 " New England Cough Drops, 18	2 25
1 " Weaver's Eye Salve, 10	1 25
2 ½ " Roach Bane, 10	25
½ " Razor Strops, 4	25
4 12 " Milk Roses, 12	38
5-12 " Elixir of Life, $4.50	2 00
1 ½ " Jewett's Water Proof, 24	4 50
1 " Peleg White's Salve, 15	1 88
1 " Conklin's Salve, 8	1 00
½ " Little's Lotion, 10	63
1 " Hewes Liniment	3 00
1 " Oldridge's Balm Columbia	4 50
½ " Elixir of Life, 24	1 50
½ " Arabian Balsam, 12	75
1 ½ " Butler's Magnesian Aperient, $5	7 50
2 " Medicamentum, 8	16 00
3 Trusses, 6	2 50
½ doz. Anderson's Cough Drops, small, 18	1 13
½ " " " " large, 36	2 25

The firm of Peter Pruyne & Co. did a large and lucrative business in 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836. It was in the last year that Doctor Kimberly suggested winding up the business, although it was not outranked at that time by any firm in the city. But the financial sky throughout the United States began to look dark; Illinois was in bad shape financially; the bank notes in circulation were from "wild-cat banks," were hard to get and unsafe to hold, even for a few hours and the State itself was on the verge of bankruptcy. But it was not until 1839 that the business was wound up. The firm had taken a number of contracts on the Illinois and Michigan canal and had opened supply stores at Romeo and other towns along the canal. The business was successfully conducted until the time of Mr. Pruyne's death in 1838. This, of course, ended the firm of Peter Pruyne & Co. and its affairs were wound up, the general store being

sold. Doctor Kimberly took the drug department and moved it into the Tremont house building, at the northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, where no doubt it was destroyed in the fire of 1839.

The clerks of the firm of Peter Pruyne & Co. from 1832 to 1839 were as far as we have a record: Marcus C. Stearns, who had charge at various times of their branch stores along the canal, at Romeo, Lockport and other points. Oscar C. Lange, who is said to have been the first Swedish settler in Chicago, who likewise was detailed to look after the supply stores along the canal, and remained with the firm until its dissolution, when he went with Doctor Kimberly, taking charge of the store in the Tremont house, after which he went to Milwaukee and was in the employ of A F. Clarke & Co., of that city in the early '40s. George L. Gray, O. L. Beach, A. H. Hamilton and Henry Knight were other employés of this firm.

W. H. & A. F. Clarke.

This firm consisted of William Hull Clarke and Abram F. Clarke, who came from Watertown, N. Y. They opened a drug store at 213 South Water street, near Franklin, May 23, 1835. They were the third drug firm to establish themselves in Chicago. In the Weekly American of that time we find an advertisement dated Nov. 7, 1835, stating that the firm had moved to the southeast corner of South Water and Clark streets, previously occupied by Kimball & Porter, dry goods merchants. About Dec. 1, 1835, the firm moved to 128 Lake street, at the northwest corner of Clark, where they remained until November, 1840, when they moved to 102 Lake Street, known as the Tremont House building, northwest corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, remaining in this location until 1851, when the retail department was moved to the Tremont House at 33 Dearborn street, southeast corner of Lake and Dearborn, and was run under the name of F. A. Bryan; Samuel C. Clarke, another one of the Clarke brothers, being a silent partner. During 1842 the original firm changed to Clarke & Co., W. H. and Samuel C. Clarke making up the firm, and A. F. Clarke going to Milwaukee, where he opened a store under the firm name of A. F. Clarke & Co. On Oct. 24, 1842, John C. Shaw, of Boston, was admitted as a special partner of the firm of Clarke & Co. and the firm continued in business until 1851, when the wholesale department was taken to 213 South Water street, where it was sold by E. C. Larned, the assignee, in the early part of the following year. This sale was advertised in the Weekly Democrat of March 3, 1852, sale to be had at New York cost with transportation added.

William Hull Clarke became city engineer for Chicago in 1855, after the Clarkes had gone out of business, and remained in the employ of the city until his death, which occurred here on August 5, 1878. He was 65 years, ten months and 10 days old.

A. F. Clarke was a resident of Milwaukee from 1841 to 1879, when he went to Marietta, Ga., where he died on March 2, 1886, aged 71 years, 4 months and 7 days.

Samuel C. Clarke, the active pharmacist of the firm, known as "the lame Clarke," also removed to Marietta, Ga., in 1871 after the business was discontinued and died there about ———(?)

W. H. & A. F. Clarke did the principal wholesale and retail business during the latter 30's and early 40's. We find their advertisements during this period in the daily papers of the city. Aside from their drug business, they were manufacturers of lard oil and candles on the North Side between Wolcott and Cass streets. They were the early dispensers of soda water, and in June, 1839, we find an advertisement to the effect that soda water was on draught at their store, corner Lake and Clark streets. They advertised the fact also that they made their own soda water.

Among the employes of the Clarkes were F. A. Bryan, Thos. B. Penton, who afterward became a member of the firm of Brinckerhoff & Penton, Geo. P. Clarke, another brother, John M. Howard, George Graff, Leonard Wilson and John Miller.

Frederick Thomas.

The fourth druggist to open a store in Chicago was Frederick Thomas, who came from New York city and started a drug store on South Water street in June, 1835. The present number of the location is about 121.

On the 8th of June, 1835, the following advertisement appeared in the Chicago Weekly American:

"Chicago's New Drug, Medicine and Paint Store—Frederick Thomas, late of the city of New York, has taken a store a little west of the drawbridge, Water street (two doors from the American office) where he intends keeping a full and general assortment of articles in the above line, together with chemicals, perfumery and dyestuffs and hopes with his experience of more than 12 years in the business and a determination of strict personal attention, to merit the patronage of the citizens of Chicago and its vicinity.

"Among the articles he offers for sale are the following, viz.: Seidlitz and soda powders, ginger beer powders, wafers and sealing wax, Epsom salt, Rochelle salt, smelling salt, French quinine, Lee's pills, quinine pills, tooth drops, cough drops, Bateman's drops, Dole's eye water, Thompson's eye water, diamond cement, Godfrey's cordial, bear's oil, otto rose, bronzes all kinds, essential oils, paint brushes, copal varnish, window glass, lamp wicks, black lead, camel's hair pencils, sand paper, letter paper, black and red ink, ink powders, hair brushes, tooth brushes, fancy soaps, Poland starch, pink saucers, Spanish indigo, Prussian blue, pepper sauce, spices all kinds, court plaster, lucifer matches, patent groats, cologne water, lavender water, dyes of all kinds, Chinese vermilion, sash tools, boiled oil, lamp oil, white lead, fine glue, lemon syrup, etc.

Physicians' prescriptions and family recipes accurately dispensed.

Bleeding, leeching and tooth drawing.

Boy wanted. Apply at above.

Chicago, June 8, 1835."

On the 24th of June Mr. Thomas advertised a cholera elixir, and on the 26th of the same month, in addition to the stock enumerated above, he announces the schooner "President" had brought him a supply of paints, drugs, perfumery, oils and dye stuffs.

Frederick Thomas was evidently an Englishman, for in the Weekly American of June 27, 1835, he advertises for information about his brother, an Englishman, six feet tall, 22 years old, dark complexioned, large features; last heard of as a clerk in Louisville, Ky.

Mr. Thomas, no doubt in opening his store, expected to do a drug business entirely, as the advertisement of his stock and statement concerning himself attests. We find, however, that he carried out the idea just six months, but must have found it unprofitable, as on Jan. 11, 1836, he formed a copartnership with Thomas Jenkins, his next door neighbor, who was operating a general store with crockery and groceries as its main features, the firm being known as Jenkins & Thomas. This firm lasted until March 24, 1836, for in the Weekly American of that date we find a notice of dissolution of the firm, Mr. Jenkins succeeding to the entire business and settling all accounts.

On the 11th of July, 1836, the store was advertised as the Chicago New Drug and Medicine store, no mention being made of Mr. Thomas or his former connection with the store.

Mr. Jenkins announced on July 30, 1836, that he had just received a new addition to his stock of crockery, dry goods, groceries, drugs, etc. On August 27 of the same year Mr. Jenkins announced that he had moved his store to Lake street one door west of Clark, and states that he carries crockery, groceries, dry goods, drugs and medicines. A month later another advertisement appeared announcing a co-partnership between Messrs. Jenkins & Lovell, who would carry a stock of crockery, groceries and dry goods. No reference is made in this or later advertisements of this firm to drugs. No doubt this was the last of the Thomas drug stock, and even after the time of the dissolution of Jenkins & Thomas we can find no further record of Mr. Thomas.

We have no record of anyone ever having clerked for Mr. Thomas. He probably carried on the business himself with the help of a boy.

Leroy M. Boyce.

The entrance of L. M. Boyce into the drug business in Chicago in October, 1838, marked a step toward the beginning of a legitimate exclusive drug store. The stock which he bought in New York and

Boston consisted of drugs, chemicals, medicines and druggists' sundries, and amounted to about $2,000 worth. This line of goods continued in kind almost intact through the successive changes of location up to the time of Mr. Boyce's death in 1849.

Mr. Boyce learned the drug business with Doctor Merchant, known as the manufacturer of Merchant's Gargling Oil, at Lockport, N. Y. Here he remained until he was of age. He then went to Hamilton, Canada, where he was employed for a year by a Mr. Winer, a druggist there, coming to Chicago in July, 1838, and securing a location for a store on the south side of South Water street, one door west of Dearborn street. The present number of that location is 117.

Mr. Boyce says in his diary:

"I hired a store from William Jones for eight months at the rate of $300 per year. This was a small wooden building two stories high, about 26 feet front and 30 feet in depth.

In the Daily American of April 9, 1839, Vol. 1, No. 1, we find the following advertisement dated Dec. 15, 1838:

"New Establishment.—L. M. Boyce, Druggist and Apothecary, takes this method of informing the inhabitants of Chicago that he has recently commenced business in South Water street a few doors west of Dearborn, where he offers for sale a full line of drugs, medicines, paints, perfumery, patent medicines, Shakers' roots, herbs, horse and cattle medicines, dye stuffs, etc., and respectfully solicits a share of public patronage. Physicians and country dealers are particularly invited to examine his stock. Particular attention will be paid to his retail business, and no article will be permitted to leave his shop unless perfectly pure and of the best quality. Prescriptions put up with neatness, accuracy and dispatch, and any article not usually kept furnished on short notice."

Independent of his regular display advertising, giving the location of his store and the advertisements of proprietary medicines giving Mr. Boyce as their Chicago agent, he was a frequent advertiser in other ways, as the following announcement in the Chicago Daily American of May 8, 1839, shows:

"I have just removed to Lake street, No. 3 Saloon Buildings, from my old stand on South Water street. I have just received a fresh supply of drugs and medicines and invite the attention of physicians and country dealers to my stock of quinine, Peruvian bark, sarsaparilla, morphine, piperine, kreasote, castor oil, Rowland's Tonic, etc.

113 Lake street, No. 3 Saloon Building."

Another announcement advertises Shakers' herbs for sale and says that Mr. Boyce wants to purchase 100 pounds of Ladies' Slipper and 100 pounds of Golden Seal for cash.

Mr. Boyce remained at the above location until the time of his death in 1849.

The following is a description of his store by Henry Bowman, who was a clerk for Boyce from 1845 to 1848 and is now a resident of Oakland, Cal. Mr. Bowman says:

"There were two bay windows containing a very meagre display, which consisted of two ordinary two gallon show bottles in each, filled with red and blue water. Behind these bottles were small oil lamps. The store was lighted with oil lamps, which it was my duty to trim. There were four of us and we took turns at the sweeping out and washing windows. At that time Augustus D. Boyce, brother of L. M., was with him, but he went away the following year. Boyce's drug store in the Saloon building was 160 feet deep. The main building was either 80 or 100 feet deep and three stories high, with a good garret above in which empty boxes were stored. From the main building a one-story rough brick addition extended to within 20 feet of the alley. It had a flat tin roof in which was a skylight. The rent of the store was $600 a year.

"As you entered the store immediately to the right against the wall was a place for putting up prescriptions. A perfumery wall case came next. Then there were three rows of drawers for drugs, with closets under them for packages of essences, proprietary medicines, Haarlem oil, opodeldoc, Bateman's Drops, Turlington's Balsom, etc., in dozens for wholesaleing and others for retailing. The bottom of the cases of drawers was about the height of the counters. There were two rows, I think of quart tincture bottles and perhaps two rows of quart specie jars above the tinctures. Above them as I recollect were half gallon packing bottles, such as aq. ammonia FFF, sp. ether nitros FFF, etc., acid acetic No. 8, etc., and I think some wide mouth packing bottles with original contents. On the shelf was an assortment of packing bottles, quarts, pints and half pints. There was "ens. veneris," crocus martis, seed lac cowhage, castoreum and a lot of other stuff that was seldom called for. I do not think there were counter and show cases except a square one about three or four feet high for trusses. There were counters on both sides of the store. On the left hand side I think the shelves had gallon and half gallon tincture bottles and salt mouth or specie jars. There were half gallon tincture bottles on the lower shelves. On the upper shelves were the essential oils in quart bottles and I think also in original packages. Where the counters ended on the right hand side there was first the stove and then the main desk placed at right angles with the wall, and beyond that was the work table upon which we filled the country orders, and in quiet times we sat there putting up Bateman's and Godfrey's drops, British and Haarlem oils and essences in dozens for peddlers, and black and blue inks, etc. Against the wall, opposite the table were barrels of stuff. There was port wine with logwood chips, I think, in the bottom of it, a barrel of Stoughton's bitters, a barrel of ink, made from the formula in Ure's Dictionary, a barrel of whiskey costing 50 cents a gallon, a barrel of 80 per cent alcohol, etc. Very little 90 per cent alcohol was used. I think the whiskey was made from corn. There were shelves above these barrels with packages on them.

"On the left side of the store as you entered, I do not so well remember the arrangement, as we waited on customers mainly on the other side. I think there was a row of gallon specie jars on the lower shelf, containing Scotch oat meal, very acrid, for gruel. They were then just beginning to make it in America, for in 1849 I got a

barrel of it from Brookville, Canada. Pearl barley, sago, starch, nutmegs, cloves, mace, cassia, arrow root, etc., formed also a part of the contents of these shelves. On the floor was a keg of tamarinds and one of Zanti currants, and on the second counter was an original package of citron.

"On the end of the first counter stood the square glass case I spoke of, with trusses hanging in it, and on top of it was a two gallon specie jar of camphor from which we retailed. There were drawers in each of the back counters for vials. All the vials used were long, round, green ones, a little wider and thinner at the shoulder, made by McCulley & Company, Pittsburg. I think that one ounce was the smallest size. There were divisions in the drawers for vials up to eight ounces and a division at the left end for mixed corks. These bottles were quilled out and not washed, and they served for prescriptions also. There must have been some wide mouthed vials, as I had the job of putting up eight ounces of Cowhage in one ounce wide mouthed vials. This feat I have a distinct memory of, as well as the powdering of some aloes and bloodroot for prescription use and horse balls. This was just before Haskell & Merrick of 10 Gold street, New York, commenced putting up their "Select Powders," which were a great blessing ever to be gratefully remembered.

"I think the herbs in packages, got of Fowler & Gates, New Lebanon, N. Y., and the Shaker solid extracts were kept on the left side of the store. Very few English extracts were used.

"There was an upright perfume case against the wall near the front door, but I do not remember upon which side of the door it was. We put up "Rose Hair Oil" in four ounce flint fluted vials. It was made of castor oil and linseed oil mixed and perfumed with bergamot, lemon and cinnamon oil.

"My memory is not at all clear as to the internal arrangement of the shelving or the disposition of the goods upon the shelves. At the end of the shelves on the left were the stairs leading up forward from the rear of the main store. At the foot of the stairs and beyond were the fall and trap doors up to the garret, ropes, tackle blocks, etc., and the second and third stories had windows in the rear that let light down on the work table, desk and rear of the store. The trap doors remained open except in very cold weather. The windows faced the south. I think there were three windows at each end of the rooms up stairs.

"On the floor of the second story were rows of barrels of goods that came in flour barrels. There were several barrels of camphor that Boyce laid in on speculation, but the price continued to fall and never rose again. There were boxes of licorice extract in bay leaves, and other boxes of goods such as Farr's quinine in 100 ounce boxes, and proprietary goods, Indian cholagogue, etc. At the front or north end of the room was the clerks' bedroom, containing two beds, a wardrobe and a table. Two clerks slept in each bed.

"The third floor must have contained barrels and boxes the same as the second, but I do not recall it. There was no cellar or basement.

On the ground floor at the end of the main store there was an opening with two sash doors into the back room. This room had no windows, but was lighted by a skylight. It was from 60 to 80 feet deep and in it were many barrels of oil of different kinds, boxes of McCully & Company's window glass in small and medium sizes, and of their vials in boxes, a barrel of putty in bladders, white lead and other paints. There were no small cans of paint that I remember. There was a row near the entrance of 40 gallon cans of different oils, including one of tallow oil, sold for neatsfoot and it would not run out of the molasses gate without poking in a stick—and then the smell.

"A man named Bay, brother of the Bay of Sears & Bay, my fellow clerk and bedfellow as well, manufactured the boiled linseed oil. We boiled it in a potash kettle in the adjoining vacant lot, with sugar of lead or lithrage, or both until it would scorch a feather.

"I think some of the patent medicines in original packages were also stored in the back room.

"Boyce's business was mostly wholesale and very few prescriptions were filled there. There was no pill machine, but we used a pill tile and rolled the pills with our fingers. For some time I used to put one of the pills in the palm of my hand and roll it around with my right forefinger. A year or so afterwards Boyce hired a man named Leonard as a kind of overseer, and he taught me how to roll a pill between each thumb and forefinger, so as to make them more quickly.

"We put up a good many of Sappington's pill and it was slow work. Of graduates and mortars we had but two or three of each in use. We had a good assortment of printed labels for all the ordinary articles. Boyce had learned the business with G. W. Merchant of Lockport, N. Y., and I think that Merchant did about the same kind of a business.

"I think that Clarke & Co. did the largest prescription business, perhaps, until J. H. Reed & Co. came and Bryan started, then it was divided up. We had a pair of fairly good prescription scales, which were mounted on top of a drawer and there was no case to them. Our counter scales were the old fashioned kind with black marble column and beam, and the weights were, I think, the ordinary brass pile. The apothecary weights were all square brass.

"The labels on the furniture bottles were put on with gold leaf and lettered. There were few, if any, salt mouths. They were mostly specie jars with lacquered covers.

"Boyce furnished physicians and small drug stores throughout the country and did a profitable business, getting good prices all around. He did a good business in the city with livery stables and stage lines and also had a good family trade. He put up but few proprietary articles and they were mostly horse medicines. He put up Merchant's Gargling Oil under the name of Arabian Oil, and a green ointment for horses' hoofs. I have still the book into which I copied all his formulas, but I think I never used any of them but "hirra picra," composition powder and inks.

"When I was there glycerin was first introduced and Boyce sent to New York for an ounce of it to cure deafness! Chloroform was also then first manufactured, and Boyce got out a dozen or so ounces of it in one ounce vials. Each vial was half full of water—to keep the stuff down, I suppose. Boyce had a sense of humor and he laughed most heartily when he got the first dozen of Allcock's porous plasters. In my rummaging through the drawers I found a round thing about four and one-half inches in diameter with a hole in it like a doughnut. I asked him what it was for. He laughed until I got quite red in the face and said he didn't wonder I did not know what it was for. He thought he would put it on a post and use it as the sign of the Mammoth Pessary. When I was a small boy I used to buy squirts at the apothecary's to play with. I saw a lot in a drawer marked P. P. syringes, and I asked him what "P. P." stood for. He told me in two words and I was careful afterwards about asking questions. There were no syringes of rubber, either hard or soft when I went there, but they were introduced a year or so afterwards. We sold the French "Clysopompe" and pewter syringes of different sizes.

"About 1847 Tilden began to put up reliable solid extracts in green cartons and glass vials, and afterwards he put up fluid extracts, but it was sometime before the latter came in use. Ayer's Cherry Pectoral was first introduced in 1847 or 1848. Before that Jayne's medicines were the principal proprietary remedies. Bristol's Sarsaparilla was the one that made a reputation for sarsaparilla about that time. It was not known that iodide gave it its main value. The case was similar to that of Sappington's pills that had such a sale about 1840 and after, before it was known that quinine was their principal medicinal ingredient.

"Next the store on the west was a stairway. Doctor Pitney, a venerable looking homeopathist, had an office up stairs. I think I have written of him before—of his snow white and coal black horses and his gig. I was greatly indebted to the old doctor. I had been taking Upham's Pile Electuary every morning for a month or two as a cathartic. As he stood drawing on his gloves in the doorway one day I asked him if there was anything else I could do. My medical knowledge was scant. He said that I should live on Boston brown bread and eat nothing else. The prescription cured me in a few days, and how many times have I given the advice to others in the last 55 years I cannot tell—but this has no relevancy to the inside arrangement of Boyce's drug store.

"In 1843 we find that Mr. Boyce went into the manufacture of linseed oil. The firm name was Peck & Boyce. In 1846 a branch drug store was opened in St. Charles, Ill., under the firm name of Freeman & Boyce.

"Among the clerks of Boyce were August D. Boyce, a brother, who was with him from 1839 to 1849, leaving for California prior to Mr. Boyce's death. Edwin R. Allen came to Chicago with Mr. Boyce from New York, where he had been a fellow clerk in Dr. Merchant's store in Lockport; he was Mr. Boyce's first clerk, remaining with

him several years, but later moving to Aurora, where he died in the summer of 1897; he was a prominent citizen of Aurora and left a large estate. Edward Walcott came in 1839 and remained until 1843; he died in Nice, France, Feb. 2, 1884, at the age of 62 years. William E. Bowman, elder brother of Henry Bowman, clerked in the Boyce store from 1840 to 1843; he went to Montreal, Canada, and engaged in the drug business, his firm being known as Workman & Bowman; later on his partner dropped out; after running the store alone for a while he became a physician and was for some time editor of the Canada Lancet; he died in 1868. Edwin R. Bay was with Boyce from 1844 to 1849; he, in partnership with John Sears, Jr., bought Boyce's business at the latter's death; the new firm was called Sears & Bay; after two years Mr. Bay sold his interest to Mr. Sears and established himself in the wholesale drug business at 139 Lake street; he was associated with a Mr. Baldwin and the firm name became Bay & Baldwin, continuing until 1855, when the business was sold to Thomas Lord. D. H. Cunningham clerked for L. M. Boyce in 1844; Philip Freya from 1844 to 1845; Charles J. Ames during 1845 and 1846. Henry Bowman learned the business with Boyce, entering his drug store in 1845 and remaining until 1848, when he left and formed a copartnership with Dr. Henry Ritchie, at 133 Lake street; the firm became Henry Bowman & Co., and was burned out in 1851; Mr. Bowman then went to Oakland, Cal., where he is now in business. George T. White clerked for Boyce in 1845; he, too, went west and was in business for some years in Colton, Cal. Mr. Leonard, who clerked in the Boyce store during 1847 and 1848, was general overseer in the retail department, and was the expert who taught the boys how to roll pills. A. H. Woodruff came in in 1848. Isaac Wells was also a clerk for Boyce about this time; he was a middle aged, easy going man, and afterward clerked for Sears & Bay; it was said that he spent most of his time telling stories; he went to California in 1851 and the next year he visited Henry Bowman's store in Sacramento; he had been mining and was almost exhausted with the weight of the gold he was carrying in a belt around his body."

Sidney Sawyer.

Mr. Sawyer came to Chicago in 1839 from Albany, N. Y., and according to an advertisement in the Daily American of May 20, 1839, he opened a drug store on Dearborn street on March 20th of that year. In this advertisement he announced that he had just opened up an addition to his stock, consisting of a choice assortment of drugs, medicines, paints, oils, perfumery, groceries, etc., having made arrangements with large manufacturing houses in New York city for a constant supply of their goods.

The store was on Dearborn street at the north end of the alley between South Water and Lake streets at No. 14. It was near the Tremont house and was called the New York Cheap Cash Drug and Medicine store. It was afterward moved to 124 Lake street. Before Mr. Sawyer took in a partner and the house became that of a firm

the tendency of the stock was toward fancy groceries, fruits and liquors. In 1855 the firm name was changed to Sawyer, Paige & Company. In 1856 the business was moved to 70 Lake street in April, 1861, the stock was sold at public auction.

Mr. Sawyer was a constant advertiser in both the Daily American and the Democrat. Under date of May 24, 1839, we find an advertisement saying that soda water is constantly on draught at Sawyer's New York Cheap Cash Drug Store. Sawyer's extract of bark was also advertised, this medicine obtaining more than a local reputation as a remedy for fever and ague and is still on the market today. Another advertisement of a later date announces the receipt of large quantities of quinine, Peruvian bark and Rowland's Tonic Mixture. Still later he announces that he has just received six barrels of corn oil.

The first big fire of Chicago, to which we have referred in the introductory part, took place Oct. 29, 1839. It was stopped on Dearborn street at the south side of the alley next to Sawyer's store, Sawyer losing only by the removal of goods and by smoke and water. In a card soon after published in the press of that time, he thanked the citizens for their prompt assistance in saving his stock from possible loss in the fire. He thanked the insurance company also, for its prompt payment of his loss which amounted to about $800.

After he removed to 124 Lake street he advertised in the Daily Democrat (successor to the American) of 1842 that he is the agent for Hewes' Nerve and Bone Liniment and that he has just received a stock of fresh lemons, prunes, raisins, currants and pears. In a later advertisement he announces that he is agent for Bradley's Ointment and Taylor's Balsam of Liverwort. The advertisement of Sawyer's Extract of Bark runs through the '40s.

In 1849 we find a public notice in the Journal that Mr, Sawyer has been elected health officer.

The members of the firm of Sawyer, Paige & Co. were Nathaniel Sawyer, Nathaniel Paige and Dr. Sidney Sawyer, who was announced as special partner.

The store of Doctor Sawyer and of Sawyer, Paige & Co. while on Lake street in the '50s, had developed into a wholesale and retail drug store similar to those of the time. The retail department was in front and the wholesale in the rear, occupying the whole of the building exclusive of the retail department. The building was a three story and basement structure and occupied a lot 20 feet wide. The old fixtures of Sawyer's Dearborn street store were used in the retail department, but had been somewhat modified and improved, giving the store a neater appearance. The store was on the north side of Lake street, one door east of Clark, and was then in the heart of the business district of Chicago.

The firm was not known as doing a large prescription business, because they gave more attention to pushing proprietary goods, of which the Extract of Bark was a leader, yet the retail store had a considerable patronage, especially with the north side residents among whom Doctor Sawyer lived and was an old settler.

The retail department was presided over by Nathaniel Sawyer, a younger brother of the doctor. Nathaniel Paige looked after the wholesale and financial part of the business. Their trade was principally confined to country stores in the northern part of Illinois and parts of Wisconsin and the lumber districts of Michigan.

The arrangement of the wholesale department was similar to that of Boyce's drug store already described by Mr. Bowman. The paints, oils and other crude goods, such as putty, window glass, etc., were stored in the basement; drugs, chemicals and proprietary medicines on the first floor; dye woods, roots, barks and herbs on the second floor, and the third floor was used as a receptacle for druggists' glassware, packing boxes, etc.

After the removal of the business to 70 Lake street in 1856 the retail part of the business was discontinued and with the hard times that set in in 1857 during the financial crisis of that year, the firm found it unprofitable to continue business, hence the stock, on April 11, 1861, was sold at auction. It was sold at a great sacrifice consequent on the depression in all branches of business just before the beginning of the Civil War. The firm had occasion to regret its precipitancy, however, as three or four months later everything advanced in price greatly.

On retiring from business, Doctor Sawyer gave his attention to his private affairs. He died in Chicago July 12, 1894.

Nathaniel Sawyer moved to Lake Forest, where he died on Nov. 13, 1890, at the age of 67 years.

Mr. Paige moved to Washington, D. C., where he still lives. He studied law and has acquired a national reputation as a constitutional lawyer.

We will now mention the clerks of the store from its beginning. Nathaniel Sawyer was associated with the store from the first. In 1843 W. J. Hamilton became a clerk in the store; J. Deming Hanks came in 1844; Henry Burgess in 1846; George M. Tourtelot in 1851; Nathaniel Paige in 1851 (he was a relative of the Sawyers); in 1855 we have H. P. Dusinberry, who clerked for Sawyer, Paige & Co., also George McPherson, who came in about this time and is still living in Chicago, and James D. Smith, who became a minister and moved to Loda, Wis.

Erastus Dewey.

Erastus Dewey opened a drug store at 19 Dearborn street on the east side between South Water and Lake streets in the latter part of

October or the first of November, 1838. In the Chicago Democrat of Nov. 15, 1838, is an advertisement dated November 1st, in which Mr. Dewey announces the opening of Apothecary Hall, the sign of "The Good Samaritan," one door south of the Eagle store on Dearborn street. Engine company No. 13 now occupies this location.

At that time he advertised a full stock of drugs and medicines, Dewey's Tonic Tincture, Bristol's Extract of Sarsaparilla, Balsam of Horehound, Rev. Dr. Bartholomew's Expectorant, Pink Syrup, Gregory's Bilious Pills, Dr. Shubael Hewes' Rheumatic Nerve and Bone Liniment, Dr. S. Phinney's Anti-Dyspeptic or Bilious Pills, Kleins's Toothache Drops, the advertisement continuing:

"Blow Ye The Trumpet, Blow. Fever and Ague. Look out for your Shakes-ism. Just received—A fresh supply of Dr. Sappington's Fever and Ague Pills."

In an advertisement in the Daily Democrat and Daily American, June 15, 1839, Mr. Dewey announces that he is the agent for Moffatt's medicines.

On the 6th of April, 1839, he announced through the press that he had just received 50 ounces of quinine. We find nothing further about him in any way, except an announcement dated March 5, 1841, of an executors' sale signed by F. A. Howe and L. M. Boyce as executors of his estate. There is no record obtainable of the time of Mr. Dewey's death, who he was, where he came from or what became of his stock.

This completes the history of the drug firms established in Chicago from 1832 to 1840.

Jean Gabriel Cerré, of Kaskaskia and St. Louis.

JEAN GABRIEL CERRÉ—A SKETCH.

Walter B. Douglas.

[Only for valid and sufficient reasons is there permitted any departure from our rule, to admit no paper in the Addendum to our annual *Transactions* that has appeared in other recent publications.

Our deviation from that rule, in this reprint from the April, 1903 number of the Missouri Historical Society Collections of the valuable biographical sketch of Jean Gabriel Cerré here presented, is made for the following reasons:

1st. Because the career of Mr. Cerré was in great part identified with an interesting period of Illinois history. For many years he was the wealthiest, most enterprising and influential citizen of Kaskaskia; he was married there, and for a long time conducted an extensive business there, and there rendered Col. George Rogers Clark material service in his campaigns for conquest of the Illinois.

2d. Because he is entirely unnoticed in all of the published histories of Illinois—save a bare mention of his name in Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois."*

3d. Because the admirable paper here copied contains facts relating to the early history of this State difficult of access elsewhere; and, in diction that cannot be excelled, rescues from oblivion the memory of a most worthy and sterling pioneer of Illinois.

For permission to reprint this sketch we acknowledge our obligations to the courtesy of its author, Judge Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis, President of the Missouri Historical Society.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.]

JOHN GABRIEL CERRÉ.

That portion of the life of Gabriel Cerré which was spent in the valley of the Mississippi covered the whole period of its shifting nationality. He came as a Frenchman to a French country. He here became by turns a British subject, a citizen of Virginia, a Spanish subject, a subject of the French Empire, and an American citizen.

He administered the laws as a Virginian judge, and made laws as a Spanish syndic.

Could the full story of his life be written it would be a document of surpassing interest. It would show a gallery of portraits such as is seldom brought together: Canadian *noblesse, voyageurs, coureurs du bois*, British Generals and Governors, Spanish dons, Virginian soldiers, American backwoodsmen, intermixed everywhere with Indians. The central figures of this portrait gallery would be, perhaps,

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* The only mention of Mr. Cerré by Gov. Reynolds occurs in his sketch of James Moore (p. 114, "Pioneer History," 2d edition), where he states that not long after Mr. Moore's arrival in Illinois Territory "he was employed by Gabriel Cerré, a wealthy merchant of St. Louis, to take goods and trade with the Indians of Western Tennessee." It is plain that Reynolds had not read Col. George Rogers Clark's journal, and did not know that Mr. Cerré had ever resided in Illinois.

Edward G. Mason, in his monograph on "Col. John Todd's Record Book," copies an order by Col. Todd "To Gabriel Cerré, &c., Esqrs., Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia," dated July 31st, 1779.

With above exceptions Mr. Cerré has been entirely ignored by all writers of Illinois history.—J. F. S.

George Rogers Clark Daniel Boone, Saint Ange, and the great Ottawa chieftain Pontiac; heroic figures that would glorify any collection.

In addition to the portraits, the story would show scenes of mingled civilization and barbarism, such as will never again exist. French Canada would be shown in its bloom; Illinois with its line of French villages and the interminable wilderness of Indian haunted woods on every side; Missouri in its happy days, when its people in the villages of St. Louis, St. Genevieve and the few outlying settlements were the neglected children of the Spanish King, and thanked the saints for the neglect. We would see in Tennessee and Kentucky the daring explorers who spied out the land, and the eager swarm of commonwealth-builders who followed them; in Ohio and Indiana the wary bands of rival traders whose quarrels were the prelude to the contest that drove France from North America.

Unhappily, however, the story of the things that he saw and the things of which he was a part can never be written. A few personal anecdotes preserved in family tradition, and a few references to him in contemporary documents is all that remains. Cerré was born at Montreal, 12th of August, 1734. At that time Louis XV was King, and the Marquis de Beauharnois was the Governor-General of Canada.

The country was then, nominally, at least, at peace. The government, observing with apprehension the growth of the English colonies to the southward, was endeavoring to meet it by encouraging agriculture, mining and manufactures among the people of Canada. But the spirit of the two peoples was unlike. To the Canadian youth the call of the woods, the waterways, and the distant plains was irresistible. Cerré was about 9 years old when the brothers La Vérendrye returned from the journey in which they had discovered the Rocky Mountains.

The English colonists considered themselves as having a foothold in a country which was under the dominion of the devil, and they pushed forward only as they were able to subdue and hold the land.

Of Cerré's childhood and early youth we have no information. He was well educated for his time, but whether his education was obtained in Canada or in France is not known. Just when he began the life of adventure which lasted into his old age we cannot tell. It is known, however, that as early as 1755, when he was in his 21st year, he was established at Kaskaskia, that "little Paris in the wilderness." Though but a few weeks older than Daniel Boone, Cerré was in the Mississippi valley 12 years before Boone made his first expedition in this direction. It is a tradition in the family that he was back in Canada and took part in the fighting about Quebec just prior to its surrender; whether or not this is well founded it is impossible to determine.

A story of one of Cerré's adventures related by the late Gurdon Hubbard is without date, but the incident probably occurred prior

to 1765. It is as follows: "Ise la cache' (in the river Desplaines) took its name from a circumstance in the life of Mr. Cerré,* a trader, who, when on his way with loaded canoes from Montreal to St. Louis (Kaskaskia) with goods for the Indian trade on the Ohio river, camped at this point.

"A band of Indians demanded of him some of his goods as a tribute for the privilege of passing down the river; this was refused. The Indians then returned to their village, a short distance below, held a council, and determined to stop his canoes as he passed their village, and take by force what he had refused to give.

"Some of them, however, opposed this robbery, and one of the band reported the action of the council to Mr. Cerré.

"The night was dark and misty, and Mr. Cerré determined to pass if possible by strategy, but to fight rather than accede to their demands. Fearing that he might be overcome by numbers and thus lose his goods, and in order to lighten his canoes, so that he could pass rapidly over the shoal places in the river, he ordered the most valuable portion of his goods removed to a grove, about a mile distant on the prairie, and there hid them in holes dug in the ground (caches), removing the surplus earth to a distance, and carefully smoothing over the spot, so that no trace of the hiding place could be seen. He then armed his men with guns, tomahawks and knives, and at daybreak started on his way down the river

"Stopping at the village, he stationed his men so as to guard the canoes, and then called on the Indians for a talk, which was granted; he told them that he should defend his goods; that the great father, the French king, had given him permission to go to the Ohio river, and showed them a parchment ornamented with ribbons and large red seals; he said to them 'here is my evidence, the king has made this writing, and it tells you that I must not be stopped or disturbed in passing through the nations of his red children; if any harm shall come to me he will revenge it by sending an army to destroy them and take possession of their country.' This speech and demonstration had the desired effect, and the Indians were glad to excuse themselves; they, however, said that they were poor, and needed clothing and tobacco; that they had no powder and but few guns, and were preparing to send a delegation to St. Louis to see their great father's captain to state their condition and make known their wants.

"Mr.Cerré replied that he was authorized to give them a present from their great father, and that he should have done so but for their demand and threat, but as they had repented he would now give it to them, whereupon he handed them a small bale which he had previously prepared for that purpose and ornamented with ribbons and sealing wax. The bale contained a few pieces of calico, powder and shot, tobacco and flints and steel for striking fire, which delighted them exceedingly. He then said to them, 'You see my canoes are light; I have but little in them, but when I camped last night you saw them heavily loaded.

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* Mr. Hubbard spells the name Sara.

I had a dream; the Spirit told me you held a council and determined to rob me when I passed your village this morning; that is why you see my men with guns, tomahawks and knives, with which to defend themselves; we did not fear you, though there are many of you and we are few; we are now friends, and I want you to help us; go with my men, take your pack horses and bring the goods I have left behind and help us down the river with our boats until we reach the deep water below the shoals, when I will give you another bale of goods in token of my friendship and bid you farewell.' To this they consented; the goods were removed from their hiding place and transported on horses to the confluence of the DesPlaines and Kaskaskia rivers, and again loaded in the canoes."

Mr. Hubbard is in error as to "the Great Father's captain" being at St. Louis; he was at Fort Chartres when the captain (St. Ange) went to St. Louis in October, 1765, the French King had become powerless and landless in America.

In 1764, Mr. Cerré married at Kaskaskia, Catherine Giard, a native of that town.

The claim of the Giards to be of the "first families" of Illinois could not be disputed, as there is record evidence that they were established there in 1729; the date of their arrival is not known.

Mr. Cerré's marriage, and the coming of his little family, though he was devoted to his wife and children, did not cause him to abandon the life upon which he had entered, and become a villager.

A story is told which illustrated the wifely faith of Madame Cerré, and the sure foundation she had for such faith. Mr. Cerré, leaving his home to make the long and perilous journey to Montreal, promised his wife that he would return in time to join with her in the festivities of the new year. The *jour de l'an* drew nearer and nearer and nothing was heard from him. Friends offered condolences, and hinted at things not to be spoken of to her, but Madame Cerré was unmoved, Mr. Cerré had given her his promise; and as to the dangers to be encountered, what were wild beasts or wilder men as against Gabriel Cerré? Her trust was justified. Almost at the last hour Mr Cerré returned, alone. Pursuing their homeward journey by way of the Maumee portage and the Wabash river, his party had been delayed by accidents of travel. Leaving his men to follow with their burdens, Mr. Cerré made his way unaccompanied across the wintry wastes that lay between the Wabash and Kaskaskia. He traveled upon snow shoes and dragged behind him a sled loaded with presents for his family and friends.

The winter of 1776 and 1777 he spent among the Indians. In the Canadian Archives there is a paper containing a "declaration Sieur Gabriel Cerré," which has been translated and printed thus: "Hav-

ing been among the Peorias on the River of the Illinois, the above name stated that last winter, having been wintering with the Kickapoos and Mascoutens at a place called the bad land*, there arrived there two savages, Kickapoos, and that these went to a person called 'fair weather,' likewise chief of the said savages, of the village of the Raven on the River of the Illinois, to engage him to send hither these young men in response to my invitation. To which message the before mentioned 'fair weather' replied that he would not stir; that he had been the winter before at St. Louis to the Spaniard to drink there and to see his father the Spaniard, who had before promised him a medal, a chief's coat, etc.; that the commandant showed him all these articles, but told him he would not give them to him until the commander sent word; that he thought the time of the arrival of the message from the Sea would be about the time of grass; adding that he would not tell him the contents because it was yet a secret known only to him; that the inhabitants of St. Louis were ignorant of it, but that as soon as their father had awakened from his sleepiness he would make it known to them, and would be prompt with his word, and would give them what he promised; advising them not to mix themselves with the troubles of the Bostonians and the English."

†This "declaration" was made by Mr. Cerré to Rocheblave, the British commandant at Fort Gage, 29th of April, 1777.

In view of the traditional *manana* policy of the Spaniards, it may well be that the secret of the commandant was the project of the expedition from St. Louis across Illinois to St. Joseph, which was successfully made under the leadership of Don Eugenio Pourre (Beausoliel) nearly four years later.

It was Mr. Cerré's fortune, only a little more than a year after his declaration, to find himself seriously mixed in the troubles of the 'Bostonais" with the British. George Rogers Clark, telling in his journal the story of the taking of Kaskaskia, July, 1778, says: "Several particular persons were sent for in the course of the night for information, etc., but we got very little beyond what we already knew except from the conduct of several persons then in town, there was reason to suppose they were inclined to the American interest; that a number of Indians had been, and was then, in the neighborhood of Kahokia, 60 miles from this; that a Mr. Cerré, a principal merchant, one of the most inveterate enemies we had, left the place a few days past with a large quantity of furs for Michili Mackinac, from thence to Quebec, from whence he had lately arrived; that he was then in St. Louis, the Spanish capital; that his lady and family were then in town with a very considerable quantity of goods, etc. I immediately suspected what these informers aimed at—that of making their peace with me at the expense of their neighbors My situation required too much caution to give them satisfaction. I found that Mr. Cerré was one of the most eminent men in the coun-

* The Mauvais Terre running through Scott and Morgan counties, Illinois.

† IV Chicago Historical Society's Collections, p. 339.

try, of great influence among the people. I had some suspicion that his accusers were probably in debt to him and wished to ruin him; but, from observations I had made from what I had heard of him, he became an object of consequence to me; that perhaps he might be wavering in his opinion respecting the contest, that if he should take a decisive part in our favor, he might be a valuable acquisition. In short, his enemies caused me much to wish to see him, and as then he was out of my power, I made no doubt of bringing it about through the means of his family, having them in my power. I had a guard immediately placed at his house, his stores sealed, etc., as well as all others, making no doubt but that when he heard of this he would be extremely anxious to get an interview. * * * *

"Mr. Cerré * * * * * (who) was yet in St. Louis, and preparing to prosecute his journey to Canada, was stopped in consequence of the information. After learning the situation of things, agreeable to my expectations, he resolved to return; but learning that there was a guard kept at his house and at no other, and that several had attempted to ruin him by their information to me, as you were advised (he thought it best) not to venture over without a safe conduct, so he applied to the Spanish governor for a letter to that purpose, and came to St. Genevieve, opposite to Kaskaskia, and got another from the commandant at that post, and sent them to me; but all the interest he could make through the Spanish officers, and the solicitation of his particular friends, which I found to be a great majority of the people, could not procure him a safe conduct. I absolutely denied it, and hinted that I wished to hear no more on the subject; neither would I hear any person that had anything to say in vindication of him, informing them that I understood Mr. Cerré was a sensible man; that if he was innocent of the allegations against him he would not be afraid of delivering himself up; that his backwardness seemed to prove his guilt; that I cared very little about him. I suppose a rumor immediately gave him this information. In a few hours he came over and before visiting his family presented himself before me. I told him that I supposed he was fully sensible of the charges that were exhibited against him, particularly that of inciting the Indians to murder, etc., a crime that ought to be punished by all people that should be so fortunate as to get that person in their power; that his late backwardness almost confirmed me in his guilt. He replied that he was a mere merchant; that he never concerned himself about state affairs further than the interest of his trade required; that he had, as yet, no opportunity so fully to acquaint himself with the principles of the present contest as to enable him finally to settle his own opinion to his satisfaction; that his being generally so far detached from the seat of affairs that he was always doubtful of his only hearing one side of the question; that he had learned more in a few days past than he ever before knew; that it only confirmed his former suspicion. I read him part of a letter from Governor Hamilton of Detroit to Mr. Rocheblave, wherein he was alluded to with much affection. He said that when he was there he behaved himself as became a subject; that he defied any

man to prove that he ever encouraged an Indian to war; that many had often heard him disapprove the cruelty of such proceedings; that there was a number in the town that was much in debt to him—perhaps the object of some of them was to get clear of it by ruining him; that it would be inconsistent in him, in his present situation, to declare his present sentiments respecting the war, but wished to stand every test, as that of encouraging the Indians is what he ever detested. He excused his fearing coming over the Mississippi as soon as he could have wished. I told him to retire into another room, without making him any further reply.

"The whole town was anxious to know the fate of Mr. Cerré. I sent for his accusers, a great number followed them—and had Mr. Cerré called. I plainly saw the confusion his appearance made among them. I opened the case to the whole—told them that I never chose to condemn a man unheard: that Cerré was now present; that I was ready to do justice to the world in general, by the punishment of Mr. Cerré, if he was found guilty of encouraging murder, or acquit him if innocent of the charge that they would give in their information. His accusers began to whisper to each other, and retire for private consultation; at length but one of six or seven was left in the room. I asked him what he had to say to the point in question. In fact I found that none of them had anything to say to the purpose. I gave them a suitable reprimand, and after some general conversation I informed Mr. Cerré that I was happy to find that he had so honorably acquitted himself of so black a charge; that he was now at liberty to dispose of himself and property as he pleased. If he chose to become a citizen of the Union, that it would give us pleasure; if not, he was at full liberty to dispose of himself (otherwise). He made many acknowledgments, and concluded by saying that many doubts that he had had were now cleared up to his satisfaction, and that now he wished to take the oath immediately. In short, he became a most valuable man to us. As simple as this may appear, it had great weight with the people, and was of infinite service to us, everything in this quarter having a most promising appearance."

The fact that Colonel Clark devoted nearly a twenty-fifth part of his memoir (which gives not only an account of his expedition to and capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, but also of the Indian troubles in Kentucky) to his experience with Mr. Cerré shows that he must have considered the acquisition of Cerré's good will to have been of the greatest importance. Cerré was also appealed to by the other side. In October of that year, Governor Hamilton, afterwards captured by Clark at Vincennes, wrote to General Haldimand "that Mr. Montforton, late of Michilimackinac, had done what was in his power to open the eyes of the French people at the Illinois, who have lately taken the Rebels by the hand, by a letter written to Mr. Cerré of Kaskasquias." Hamilton adds that for this good act Montforton should be compensated by the British government of Canada.

The Virginia commandant, Col. John Todd, caused polls to be opened for the election of magistrates by the people, and of the judges elected, Mr. Cerré headed the list. A letter from Colonel Todd to these judges, perhaps justify the belief that they did not observe the ancient maxim, "*boni judicio est ampliare jurisdictionem.*" The letter reads:

"To Gabriel Cerré, etc., Esqrs., Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia. You are hereby authorized and required to hold and constitute a court on Satterday, the 21st of July, at the Usiall place of Holding Court, within yr district, any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that no suitor or partey be compeled to answere any prosess upon said unless properly sumoned by the Clark & Sherriff.

Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia,

JOHN TODD."

But it was not for Mr. Cerré to play the part of a justice.* Long before this time he had turned his face to the westward. The earliest hunters in the Missouri river country, aside from an occasional party of adventurers, were men sent by Cerré from Kaskaskia.

"Note this," says Scharff, "of the founding of New Madrid by Cerré, from the narrative of Godfrey Lesueur, whose father Francois, with Joseph, a brother, started away in youth from Trois Rivieres, and found themselves two penniless adventurers in St. Louis."

They sought and found employment with Gabriel Cerré, a fur trader and the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau. He was a Kaskaskian, but his business took him to St. Louis as did that of all the enterprising people of that section.

Cerré set the two youths to classifying and baling furs and pelts for market, and this one fact gives an idea of the extensive scale on which the business was then carried. After remaining about a year with Mr. Cerré, they were both sent in a canoe down the Mississippi river, and instructed to find the most suitable place for the establishment of a trading house among the several tribes of Indians then inhabiting the country. The first place they found which afforded the greatest advantage and inducements was a large Delaware Indian town, where New Madrid now stands. There were also on the margin of the Louis prairie and Big prairie, several other large Indian villages. They quickly returned to St. Louis and reported to Mr. Cerré all they had seen, portraying to him the results that would, in their opinion, be derived from starting a house at the place mentioned. The year following they were sent by Mr. Cerré to build a house, and taking with them a lot of goods suitable to the Indian trade, were successful beyond expectations, making large collections of furs and peltries. In a few years competition reduced the profits, whereupon Cerré sent them to build a house at some other point."†

* See note on last page of this paper.

† Scharff's History of St. Louis, 287.

The establishment of Cerré's trading house by the Lesueurs was, according to the best authorities, in 1780. The place was first called *l'Anse-a-la-graisse.* It was not until the coming of Col. George Morgan's colony, in 1787, that it received the name of New Madrid.

In 1781, Mr. Cerré employed James Moore to take goods and trade with the Indians in Tennessee. The headquarters of this trade was at the French Lick, on the Cumberland, the site of the present city of Nashville. This was probably a country familiar to Mr. Cerré, the Kaskaskia trade with the Tennessee Indians having begun early in the century. Mr. Charleville had a store near the junction of the French Lick creek with the Cumberland as early as 1714.

On the 17th of June, 1779, Mr. Cerré bought from Louis Perrault, block 13 of the village of St. Louis, being the block bounded by the Mississippi river and what are now Main and Vine streets and Washington avenue. On this ground there was a dwelling and a warehouse, which had been erected either by Perrault or by Labuxiere, the property having been originally granted to the latter by St. Ange—the first formal grant of land in St. Louis.

Just when Mr. Cerré removed his home to St. Louis is not known. Scharff says that he was a resident of the village at the time of the *coup*, 26th of May, 1780. In 1781 he acted as an arbitrator, at the instance of Charles Gratiot, in a controversy between Gratiot and the crew of a barge belonging to him which had been captured by the Indians. In a paper in the possession of the writer, signed by Mr. Cerré and dated 10th of October, 1782, he describes himself as "Gabriel Cerré *vecino de esta Pueblo de Sn. Luis*"—inhabitant of this village of St. Louis.

In the same year he was one of the eight *Syndics* appointed by the assembly of the inhabitants which was held in the government hall on 22d of September, for the purpose of establishing fixed and unalterable rules for the construction and repair of streets, bridges and drains of the village.

At St. Louis he continued and increased the business which he had prosecuted for so many years. Some of his kinsmen from Canada followed him to his new home. Some of his wife's people crossed the river and took up their abode in the Spanish village. His two younger daughters married St. Louis men of high character and commanding positions and ability. His family connections and his numerous band of employés constituted him the patriarch of a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the settlement, and gave him a great influence in the management of its affairs. In addition to his house in the village, in block 13, he had a grant of a large tract south of the village, which he improved with a house, garden, orchard and fields and used as a country place. The house stood on the east side of what is now Broadway near Soulard street.

Of the many grants obtained by Mr. Cerré the following specimen may not be without interest. I quote from a translation by Mr. Julius De Mun:

"To Don Charles Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel, attached to the stationary regiment of Louisiana, and Lieutenant-Governor of the upper part of the same province—Gabriel Cerré, father of a family, owner of slaves, and one of the most ancient inhabitants of this country, has the honor to supplicate you to have the goodness to grant to him, to the north of this town on the *Ruisseau de Pierre* (Stony Creek), an augmentation of 300 arpens of land in superficie to a tract of land he purchased several years ago, so as to give him the enjoyment of a spring, the owning of which he thinks very important, according to his views of improvement. The said augmentation to be bounded as follows: On the north by the line of the land I purchased, the title of which, with the ratification in form, has been delivered to me; on the south and east by the lines of Mr. Labaume's land, and on the west by the vacant lands of the domain. The petitioner hopes so much the more to obtain the favor which he claims of your justice, because the public road passes now on his first piece of land through a hilly and difficult place for carting, and that he intends, as soon as he obtains the augmentation solicited, to make the said road pass in a more suitable place; but this will require the construction of a bridge which he shall cause to be built immediately over the said creek. The petitioner, full of confidence in your justice, hopes that you will be pleased to do justice in such a manner as to fulfill his views. CERRÉ.

ST. LOUIS, Jan. 3, 1800."

"ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS, Jan. 3, 1800.

Considering the petitioner is one of the most ancient inhabitants of this country, whose known conduct and personal merit are recommendable, and being satisfied as to the truth of what he states in his petition, the surveyor of this upper Louisiana, Don Antonio Soulard shall put the interested (party) in possession of 300 arpens in superficie, which he solicits, for him to enjoy the same under the boundaries that he asks; and the survey being executed, he (the surveyor) shall make out the corresponding certificate of the same, with which the interested party shall apply to the Intendency General of these provinces, to which alone corresponds, by order of his majesty, the granting of lands and town lots belonging to the domain.

CARLOS DEHAULT DELASSUS."

In addition to his trade and his planting, Mr. Cerré had a stock farm on the Meramec, and besides acted frequently as guardian for young persons, and as *negociant* or attorney-in-fact for non-residents of the village. In 1788, he represented Colonel Maxent in the settlement of the affairs of Maxent, Laclede & Co.

His visits to Canada were frequent. A letter from Manuel Gayoso de Leemos, the then Governor of Louisiana, which is still preserved in the family, refers to one of them. A translation of this letter from the French original is as follows:

"New Orleans, April 25, 1798.

"Sir—Your letter of the 7th of last March has been delivered to me. Yes, sir, it is with pleasure that I have learnt by the letter which you have written to Mr. Zenon Trudeau, on the subject of your journey to Canada, which letter has been forwarded to me, that you had returned to St. Louis. No one better than myself can feel how many inconveniences you must have experienced in this journey, and how many difficulties you had to surmount, and that it required nothing less than your intelligence and knowledge, your activity, firmness and courage, to extricate you from the embarrassments into which your zeal for the service of the King, and your attachment to our Government, precipitated you. Penetrated with this conviction, and knowing how to appreciate your merit, your uncommon disinterestedness, and the services which you have rendered, and which, I am persuaded, you will always be disposed to render to the King, you will find me at all times ready to seize the occasion of testifying to you how much I do desire to be of some utility to you, and making it available in case of need.

With respect to the affair between you and Mr. Lorimier, of which a statement has been submitted to me by Mr. Zenon Trudeau, it is with very sensible pain that I see myself compelled to announce to you that my judgment upon it will not be, perhaps, exactly comformable to your wishes. The immutable principles of justice, whatever may be the interest I take in you in my inward thoughts, do not permit me to pronounce a decision different from that which will be officially communicated to you by the Lieutenant Governor Don Zeno Trudeau. You have too sound an understanding and too much discernment not to comprehend that a public man ought never to suffer his affections or his feelings of private friendship to make him deviate from the path which his reason points to him as that of equity and impartiality. On all other occasions put my friendship to the test and reckon on the attachment of him who has the honor to be, with all the consideration which is due to you on so many accounts.

Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

Monsieur Gabriel Cerré."

A subsequent visit to Canada is spoken of in the testimony in support of the petition for conformation of the grant of land on Stony Brook, spoken of above:

"Pascal L. Cerré duly sworn, says that Gabriel Cerré was his father, that he knows the conditions of said grant to have been, on the part of his father, to build a bridge on the *Ruisseau de Pierre*; that his said father having gone to Canada previous to Delassus' signing the grant, he the deponent, remained charged with his busi-

ness in this country, when Delassus, who had not yet signed the grant, hurried him to go on with the bridge, but the deponent would not do it until the grant was signed; which Delassus having done, he sent his hands immediately to work, having already all the materials on the spot, and soon completed the bridge."

This was in 1800 or later.

On the 21st of July of that same year, Madame Cerré died. She was buried according to the directions of her will "*en la yglesia de esta villa*"—in the church of this village—but, perhaps, not "*con la mayor humilidad*," as she also enjoined.

Her husband survived her five years. It was permitted to him to live again, though but for one day, under the flag of his own country. He saw that flag go down for the last time in North America, and the flag of that power, from which he had retreated but which had followed him, rise to forever occupy its place. The New France which, in his early manhood, it was believed would grow to be the right arm of the old, had long been but of memory. Yet old recollections must have been wakened and old regrets become more poignant, to see a new and alien nation, of less than half his years, advance and take from his own land and empire that which she had so recently regained. With what grace he acquiesced in that last change we cannot tell. He lived less than a year and a month after the transfer of the country, dying on the 4th of April, 1805.

His active business life of fifty years as a merchant in the fur trade had produced what was at that time a handsome fortune. His adherence to correct principles and his accurate judgment of men and things, based upon great native ability, a well instructed mind and an experience such as falls to the lot of few men, had won for him the respect and admiration of all who knew him. His courtesy, his humor and unfailing kindness of heart, his active benevolence to those who made up his family circle—for these things he was loved during his life and sincerely mourned at his death.

[NOTE—The following questions propounded by a committee of Congress, in July, 1786, to Mr. Cerré, and his answers thereto, constitute perhaps the best source of information as to the conditions prevailing in "the Illinois" subsequent to Clark's conquest:

"Mr. Cerré will to answer the following inquiries:

"1. Were the people of the Illinois heretofore governed by the laws of Canada, or by usages and customs of their own, or partly by one and partly by the other?

"2. By what tribunals or judges was criminal and civil justice heretofore administered in that district?

"3. By what laws or usages and by what judges is criminal and civil justice dispensed at this time?

"4. In what mode and in what quantities were grants of land heretofore made to individual settlers?

"5. To what extent is the whole district appropriated by grants?

"6. To what extent is the tract or tracts granted to the settlers in common for religious or other uses?

"7. What is the computed number of inhabitants in the whole Illinois district, and what proportion of them were slaves?

"Answers to the queries:

"1. The people of Illinois were governed before the conquest of Canada by the same laws as the people of Canada, which were of the same nature as those of old France, adapted to the particular circumstances of the country. They had local customs which were equally binding as the laws, and after the conquest the British commandants were civil judges who governed by the same laws and customs as the people lived under before the conquest of Canada; all public transactions and records being recorded in French by notaries public, and orders issued in English were translated into French for the information of the country. Criminal cases were referred to England.

"2. In civil causes, before the conquest of Canada, there was an Attorney General—*Procureur du Roy* who gave sentence in all cases that were brought before him by his own personal decision, in trifling matters, but in cases of importance it was customary for each party to name two arbitrators, the Attorney General a fifth, and he ratified their sentence. An appeal might be made to New Orleans where there was a superior judicature, called *counsel superior*. The criminal causes were referred to and decided by this *counsel superior* at New Orleans. During the British government the commandants decided justice as in the first article.

"3. In 1779, when Colonel Todd went into that country, the people chose six magistrates to govern them according to the old French laws and customs, which magistrates were empowered by Colonel Todd to judge in criminal cases. After the troops were withdrawn the power of the magistrates was annihilated and everything fell into anarchy and confusion—the state of affairs at this time.

"4. Before the conquest of Canada the French commandants had power to make grants, and did grant to every person who petitioned, as much land as the petitioner chose to ask for, on condition of cultivating part of the same within a year. The English followed the same mode. If the land was not cultivated as above it returned to the king's *demesnes*.

"5. The question is very difficult and not in Mr. Cerré's power to answer, but great quantities have been granted.

"6. A large quantity of land was reserved in the neighborhood of the town for commons, and a very small portion for religious uses, and none for other purposes.

"7. There may be in the towns on the Mississippi about 300 white inhabitants, including American settlers who may number about 50. There are moreover about 250 slaves. So that according to Mr. Cerré the population of the Illinois amounts to 550 or 600 souls, but he does not appear to be well acquainted with their numbers."

Mr. Cerré's answers were given in French, and were referred to John Pintard for translation.

The document is to be found in the State Department (Washington City) MSS., vol. 48, p. 49.

It may be here mentioned that the Kaskaskia church records show the burial of "*Marie Louise, esclave Sauvage, appartenant au Sr. Cerré,*" and "*un negre au Sieur Cerré age d' environ 19 ans.*"]

Lovejoy Monument, at Alton, Illinois.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC PLACES IN ILLINOIS.

Your committe appointed to consider the places of historic interest in the State of Illinois, with the thought of encouraging efforts to preserve or properly mark them, begs to make the following report:

We are so accustomed to think of historic events in the United States as occurring in the older states bordering on the Atlantic and to think of historic places being, therefore, located in that quarter, that public sentiment will be difficult to arouse to the importance of undertaking any enterprise in connection with historic places so far west as Illinois The inhabitants of this State are descended almost entirely from the older states and claim a share in their traditions. They view Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown as national possessions and are satisfied with what has been done to commemorate the events at these places. National pride is thus gratified and national duty is thought to be fulfilled in the common heritage. Again, the events which are connected with historic places in the older states are sufficiently removed in time to make them undoubtedly historic, and to surround them with the reverential halo of age. Events in Illinois under the English speaking people are of such recent occurrence that they become, by contrast, events only.

If we take into consideration the old French period, Illinois historic places outrank in age many of the venerated spots in the older states; even the capture of Kaskaskia during the Revolutionary War occurred before the surrender at Yorktown. But the fact that the larger number of the early events took place under the French regime deprives them of a certain veneration. We are fond of delving in the old records of Kaskaskia, but we allow the last remnant of Fort Chartres to be destroyed without a sigh of regret. A private citizen erects a tablet to commemorate Fort Dearborn, planted under the American rule, but we turn the rock of Tonty's fort, St. Louis, into a kind of summer resort and do not manifest sufficient interest in Fort Crevecoeur to determine beyond question its exact site.

It is true that reverence for departed persons is a stronger sentiment than reverence for deserted places. This is illustrated by the action of the State in appropriating a sum for removing the bodies of the French from the encroaching river at Kaskaskia Not only was this done, but a suitable monument was erected at State expense

over the remains of these pioneers in their new resting place on the higher ground. In this connection one may mention the praiseworthy contribution of the State, which enabled the people of Alton to erect a fitting monument to Elijah P. Lovejoy, the advocate of a free press in the sectional conflict which marred the early history of the State.

Closely akin to the monuments which mark the Revolutionary battle fields of the east is the shaft erected by the State over the remains of the pioneers who fell at Stillman's Valley in the Black Hawk War. They were men of the frontier, men of our tongue and blood, slain by their savage foemen. Sentiment does not incline toward the Indian. He was the weaker element and he succumbed to the stronger white man. Yet there are not wanting among white men those who sympathize with the conquered. This is exemplified in the labor of love performed by John F. Steward, president of the Maramech society of Kendall county, who has cut upon a boulder a suitable inscription for the tribe of Fox Indians who were besieged and destroyed by the French and their Indian allies in 1730.

Monuments to celebrated citizens are not uncommon in any state. Illinois has honored in this way the foremost of her illustrious sons, Abraham Lincoln, by a shaft not unworthy of the illustrious dead or the State of which he was a citizen. The State has similarly honored Stephen A. Douglas, his great rival. The statue of Pierre Menard standing in the State House yard at Springfield may be added as another phase of this honor to the departed.

Perhaps the most conspicuous example of marking an historic place is the site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Galesburg in the senatorial campaign of 1858. Upon the side of one of the buildings of Knox college against which the speaker's stand had been erected on that celebrated occasion, an artistic tablet has been placed. The inscription on this tablet is so well chosen that attention may here be called to this very essential feature in such undertakings hereafter. The inscription should first of all be short and exact; the lettering should be large and the sentiment should explain the motive of the tablet. No one has stood near the Menard statue at Springfield, on an occasion which brought many strangers to view it, without a feeling of regret that it contains no information concerning the subject. It may be said that Menard ought to be sufficiently well known for his services in connection with the State to make any inscription superfluous; but the fact remains that few who see the statue understand what he did to merit such honor.

The Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport was the most important of the series from a political standpoint. The Woman's club of that city has placed on the corner of a square a huge granite boulder on which a tablet is placed, setting forth that in the grove, of which the city square is now a part, was erected the platform upon which the debates took place. No steps have been taken, so far as your committee could learn, to mark the places of the other five debates in the series, viz.: Charleston, Ottawa, Jonesboro, Quincy and Alton. Several instances may be mentioned in which the remains of Revolu-

Republican Wigwam, Chicago, where Lincoln was nominated, 1860.

tionary soldiers in the State have had deserved monuments placed over their last resting places. By popular subscriptions, secured mainly by Mr. Lewis M. Gross, county superintendent of schools of DeKalb county, a monument was unveiled on July 4th last, over the grave of Abner Powers at Lily lake. The Daughters of the American revolution have performed a similar service at the grave of a Revolutionary soldier at Ottawa. Others no doubt have occurred but are not known to your committee.

A movement has been set on foot from time to time in Chicago for several years past to place a monument over the unmarked grave of "Father" Kennison, who claimed to be the last survivor of the Boston tea party. He died in Chicago in 1852 at an advanced age and was given the honor of a public funeral. The cemetery in which the city purchased a lot for him was afterwards abandoned and became a part of Lincoln park. His remains were never removed, and it is claimed that the place of his burial can be pointed out in the park. It is proposed to bring a granite boulder from his native state, Vermont, to be placed upon it. From Vermont he enlisted in the Revolutionary war. It is also proposed in Chicago to place a tablet on the wholesale house occupying the site of the "wigwam" in which Lincoln was nominated. The site is doubly memorable because on it stood in early days the famous "Sauganash" tavern. Not far distant stands the only worthy tablet in the great city of Chicago. It marks one of the corners of the blockhouse of Fort Dearborn, the building of which in 1803 was the beginning of the city. The Chicago Historical society a few years ago placed a small tablet upon the place of the origin of the great fire of 1871. Mr. George M. Pullman made the location of the "massacre tree" of 1812 memorable by replacing its dead trunk with a spirited group in bronze. It would be a matter of surprise to the people of the United States to learn that the statue to the Chicago policemen who fell at the charge upon the Anarchist meeting in Haymarket square a few years since has been removed from the square to a distant place in a park where it has absolutely no meaning and becomes simply grotesque. Its entire disappearance is only a matter of time. The sentiment against the policemen for attempting to break up the meeting or, rather, sympathy for the men executed in connection with the riot, is undoubtedly the real reason for removing the reminding statue, although the ostensible reason is that its space is wanted for the market in the square. Public sentiment should be strong enough to condemn adjacent land for the market place in order that a reminder of men who heroically did their duty might not be removed. Here is a fresh evidence of the need of some kind of agency or organization to keep up public sentiment.

Turning from the past to the future, from what has been to what should be preserved or marked, your committee finds abundant field for such work. The prime difficulty arises not so much from a paucity of places of historic interest within the State as the suggestion of a proper agency to undertake or to foster the task of properly marking them. The preservation of any memorial of the past is

always the most difficult task, since the march of progress and the demands of business have slight regard for sentiment. The Green Tree tavern, probably the oldest building in Chicago, has recently given way to the "'march of progress." But the most important relic of the past from an historic and an educational point of view is the powder house or magazine at Fort Chartres. As an illustration of one part of fortification building nearly two centuries ago, it can be compared only with the block-house at Pittsburg, one of the few evidences of the kind to escape destruction. The comparison of a photograph taken during the past six months with any previously taken will show how rapidly the work of disintegration goes on. The total disappearance of the ruin is a matter of a few years only. It is remote from any business demand for space, and lacks only the proper public sentiment to stop the work of destruction and to restore it to its former proportions and appearance.*

The remains of Fort Massac, on the Ohio river, are not so much in evidence as those at Fort Chartres. The latter was a French fort, and the former was occupied by American forces at various times. That there is more sympathy with our own people than with the departed French is evidenced by a measure passed by the recent session of the State Legislature for the purchase and restoration of Fort Massac. This is to be done under the care of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In addition to these places, Hon. Wm. Jayne, as a member of the committee, suggests the law office of Abraham Lincoln and the home of Peter Cartwright as sites worthy of some mark. Here legends might recall to the passer-by remembrances of the struggles of a great heart between popularity and sense of duty, and the likely to be forgotten story of the eccentric but courageous missionary of pioneer days.

Another member of the committee, Mrs. Thomas Worthington, has suggested the possibility of enlisting the interest of the local literary clubs throughout the State in such enterprises. The work already accomplished by some such organizations in various parts of the State is some indication of the reasonableness of such hope. The unusual number of clubs devoting the year's program to a study of Illinois history is further proof of interest if it can be turned in this practical direction. The site of the cabin of "Father" Dixon in the city bearing his name has been indicated by a tablet at the hands of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Only a dead nation loses sight of its legends and early history. Both national and local pride is engendered and preserved by these reminders of the men and women who have made the American people the heirs of all that is best in past ages. Not the slightest incident which went to make up the story of State progress and which tended to the betterment of mankind should go without some mark to recall it to memory if at all possible. In a kind of vision one may see told in imperishable letters on the beautiful public square of Galesburg, for instance, the hardships endured by the pioneers who

*See article by Mr. Joseph Wallace on Fort Chartres, page 105 of this volume.

English Colony House at Albion, Ill.

came to plant civilization of a high type on the western prairies. By the same vision one may see the passing of Nauvoo, the story of the Mormons and the Icarians, so imperishably told that future generations may be impressed by the folly of "separatism" in a republic. Upon the site of the vanished town of New Salem, the traveller should read the story of the hardships and self-training of the storekeeper and postmaster, who was to rise to the highest office in the gift of the people. Back even of recorded history, the delightful legends of early days should be told on the summit of Black Hawk's Watch Tower at Rock Island, and the best judgment of archeologists concerning the life of the mysterious artisans of pre-historic times should be told for the benefit of visitors to the mounds of Cahokia.

A complete historic survey of the State is not attempted in this report. The task should be undertaken in a comprehensive manner. It was to be hoped that the State exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition would have afforded the opportunity; but it is difficult to overcome traditional ideas of a State exhibit. Individual residents in various parts of the State will at once add to the historic places named in this report. Residents of Galena, proud of what has been done to associate the name of Grant with their city, will not consider the work complete. Citizens of Rock Island know that the site of the Confederate camp of the Civil war is known only by memory, as is the site in Chicago of a similar prison and recruiting station, Camp Douglas.

In thus for the first time, it is believed, calling the attention of the the people of the State to a task so fully accomplished in the older states, your committee can hope only to arouse public sentiment or at least to attempt to arouse it. Whether it is wise for the Illinois State Historical Society to add this activity to the many purposes it already has in view, or whether it is best to form a new society for the specific purpose, or whether it is best to use existing agencies, simply trying from time to time to encourage such work, the committee leaves to the Society to determine.

Respectfully submitted,

Edwin E. Sparks,
Miriam M. Worthington,
William Jayne.

LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY ONTARIO

ACTION OF THE ILLINOIS' MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN RELATION TO THE PURCHASE BY THE STATE OF THE SITE OF OLD FORT MASSAC.*

The papers enclosed contain the action of the State Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, on Fort Massac, endorsed unanimously by the State Conference of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in session at Springfield, Oct. 14, 1902:

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Illinois—Greeting:

GENTLEMEN—We, the undersigned, respectfully represent that we are members of a society organized in recent years for the purpose, among other objects, of restoring the memorials of the American Revolution and the early days of American history. Believing that as President Lincoln said in his first inaugural address: "The time has come when the mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the angels of our better nature."

In the spirit of that historic address we have attempted the work which has been set before us. Our sisters working in all the states of the Union, south and north, have restored many of the memorials of the great Revolutionary War, and many memorials of the struggles of the American people of later days.

In all ways we have devoted ourselves to the purpose of our declaration.

Among all the states of the Union, none have a much older and certainly none a more heroic history than the State of Illinois. The busy spirit of commercialism has obliterated many of the marks of the pioneers. Fort Dearborn is covered by business houses; the remorseless march of time and the elements has left historic Kaskaskia and Cahokia unmarked.

But there is one place, the oldest and most famous of them all, which has been spared to us for now two centuries.

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* See page 64 of this volume. Address of Mrs. Matthew T. Scott.

At the edge of the city of Metropolis, the county seat of Massac county, are the ruins of a fort, the first foundations of which were established in 1702, and which was then occupied by the French voyagers. It is upon the banks of the River Ohio on a high and sightly bluff, overlooking a wide range of Kentucky and Illinois shore. The French were succeeded in its possession by the Spaniards, and they yielded its control to the Indians.

It was again occupied by the French and then by the English troops, and finally it was surrendered to the American forces during or about the time of George Rogers Clark's famous Kaskaskia expedition.

It occupied a very considerable place in the attention of Congress and of the President. An expedition was dispatched at one time from Carlisle, Pa., under General Forbes to recover its possession when it was held by the British. Washington, when President of the United States, himself directed its restoration and occupancy.

While the Ohio river was used as the great channel of communication between the further west and the east, it was a conspicuous landmark, but in later years, owing to the building of railroads far distant from it, changing the lines of travel, it has ceased to have the prominence it once possessed.

But it is still marked as the frontiersmen and voyagers and the older soldiers marked it—a simple bastion fort, with its magazines and water supply all provided for. The lines of the ramparts, while much reduced, have been, owing to the protection of the grass, fairly well preserved. All in and around this fort are growing forest trees of stately magnitude

Old Fort Massac is so intimately associated with that which is heroic and great in the early settlement and conquest of the northwest from the savage and from foreign foes, that we believe it is only necessary to present the facts in this case to your honorable body in order that you will take steps to rescue it from decay or the spoiliation of private ownership.

We have been in communication with the owner of the land, the Hon. Reed Green, and we believe that that gentleman will ask no extortionate price for his property. Estimates that have been made assure us that for the first two years of the ownership by the State and the restoration of Fort Massac to its former condition and appearance, no greater outlay will be needed than $10,000 and we earnestly and respectfully request that your honorable body will cause the said fort to become the property of the State of Illinois; will cause it to be set aside and preserved forever as a memorial of the older days of the State and the Republic, and a monument to the greatness and sacrifices of the men who obtained it for our people against all holders, under the supervision of the proper trustees.

We append hereto a copy of preamble and bill to which we respectfully invite the attention of your honorable body, and ask that it may receive your favorable consideration with such modifications in the text and amount, as may seem best to your wisdom.

WHEREAS, the ancient landmarks of American settlement and developments, and in particular of the struggle of the American Colonies for independence are being sought for, restored and preserved by the patriotic men and women of our country as sacred object lessons in patriotism for the education of the youth of America; and

WHEREAS, beginning two hundred years since, the site of old Fort Massac, situated in Massac county, Illinois, was occupied alternately by the French, the Spanish, the English, the Indian people and the pioneers of our own people; and

WHEREAS, the remaining earthworks thereof are associated with the American struggle for independence and especially with the expedition of George Rogers Clark and 151 companions in which Illinois and the great Northwest was conquered to the Union and saved to the United States; and

WHEREAS, on this spot, old Fort Massac, the flag of our country was first raised over Illinois soil; and

WHEREAS, afterward during our threatened trouble with France and Spain, said fort was repaired and garrisoned by order of President George Washington, the father of our country; and

WHEREAS, the said fort was made headquarters of the army under Gen. Anthony Wayne and during the war of 1812 was garrisoned and occupied by the territorial militia of Illinois for the protection of the American borders against the incursions of hostile Indians in league with Great Britian; and

WHEREAS, the vestiges of this historic fort must disappear unless rescued and preserved by patriotic hands; and

WHEREAS, it is the sole remaining original monument in Illinois of all our border struggles and growth; and

WHEREAS, the Daughters of the American Revolution in Illinois and elsewhere have manifested a strong desire to restore and preserve old Fort Massac as an object lesson in patriotism; and

WHEREAS, the City of Metropolis in said Massac county, through its city council, has expressed a willingness to contribute liberally to the expense of caring for and preserving the fort and surrounding grounds as a memorial park for the enjoyment of the citizens of our State and country; and

WHEREAS, the Daughters of the American Revolution in Illinois and elsewhere have petitioned this General Assembly in this behalf.

With sentiments of highest regard,

MRS. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS,
President General Daughters of the American Revolution.

MRS. CHARLES H. DEERE,
Illinois State Regent.

MRS. ADLAI E. STEVENSON,
Honorary President General.

MRS. RICHARD YATES,
Honorary Member of Springfield Chapter.

MRS. JULIUS A. COLEMAN,
Regent of Chicago Chapter.

MRS. CHARLES RIDGELY,
Ex-Regent of Springfield Chapter.

MRS. MATTHEW T. SCOTT,
Vice-President General.
Committee.

A bill for an act appropriating money to purchase and perpetuate the historic Fort Massac as a State park.

Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, Represented in General Assembly:

SECTION 1. That the Governor, Secretary of State, and Auditor of the State of Illinois, and the State Regent of Illinois of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and two Illinois daughters appointed by State Regent, all to serve without remuneration, and their successors in office, shall constitute a board of trustees, and by the name and style of the Fort Massac Trustees shall have power to receive a conveyance from the Hon. Reed Green or other owner or owners thereof, of the property, not less than ten (10) nor more than forty (40) acres in extent, extending from the northwestern edge of the Ohio river at low water mark in the county of Massac and State of Illinois, lying as near square in form as possible, containing the site of old Fort Massac; and to hold the same in perpetuity, but in trust for the State of Illinois; to execute in said name and style and deliver to the said Reed Green or other owner or owners as may be determined by investigation, a contract covenanting with the said Reed Green, and his heirs and others aforesaid, if any, and their heirs, that said old Fort Massac shall be forever kept in good repair and free of access to the public under such regulations as they may deem wise for the proper preservation of the property aforesaid.

§ 2. Said board shall have full authority over and control of said property; shall have power to contract with reference to the proper care and custody thereof, and all such articles of antiquity and curiosity as may there be collected, and with reference to restoration and repair of said old Fort Massac and proper care of said property; to

the employment of a suitable person to care for the same and to exhibit it to the public; and in said name and style may sue or be sued in reference to any matter pertaining to the powers and trusts hereby created.

§ 3. It shall be the duty of said trustees to use the moneys that may from time to time be appropriated by the General Assembly, so far as can be done with such moneys, to keep said premises in good repair; to keep the same open and free of access to the public at all seasonable hours; to authorize the erection on said premises by the Illinois organizations of the Daughters of the American Revolution and their associates in the nation at large, a monument commemorative of the history of Old Fort Massac and of their connection with the restoration and care of the same; and to authorize the inscription upon said monument of such reasonable and proper inscription as will fully set forth the facts referred to in the preamble to this act.

§ 4. There is hereby appropriated the sum of ten thousand (10,000) dollars to defray the expenses of purchasing said premises, and employing a custodian and carrying out the purposes of this act, for the period of two years after the approval of this act and to be paid out of any moneys of the treasury of the State not otherwise appropriated; on warrants of the Auditor upon the Treasurer approved by the Governor on the direction of a majority of said board from time to time as the same may be required for the purposes of this act.

§ 5. Said board shall report to each General Assembly before the twentieth (20th) day of each regular session a detailed account of all their transactions and of all expenditures made by them, and also such recommendations as they may deem proper for the consideration of the General Assembly.

Approved May 15, 1903.

SEVENTH BIENNIAL REPORT TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY, 1901-1902.

STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY ROOMS,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Dec. 24, 1902.

To the HON. RICHARD YATES, *Governor of Illinois:*

SIR—The undersigned board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library hereby submits this, its seventh biennial report, as follows:

First. Since its last report of Dec. 24, 1900, there has been quite an accretion of volumes and manuscripts, by purchase, gifts and exchanges to the library. These additions are more fully shown in a detailed report of our efficient librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, and made a part of this document. Newspaper files, maps, manuscripts, pictures, portraits, engravings, cuts and other illustrated matter do not appear.

Second. The storage, book cases, wall space, tables, etc., required to keep this rapidly accumulating mass, leaves hardly room for consultation or the transaction of the ordinary business of the board in relation thereto. In view of this crowded condition of the small room used until now, may not this board again ask your excellency to call the attention of the Legislature to the fact, in order that some means may be speedily devised to give more ample quarters in the State house for the Historical Library and its rapidly growing needs?

Third. It has long been apparent to the board of trustees that under the law provided for its organization and the management of its affairs, it can not cover a most interesting field that affects the local history of every school district, township, county and neighborhood of the State. This can only be done through a State Historical Society, with its auxiliary societies in the area named. The means to command this essential matter lessen with the death of each old settler. There are no archives of deposit from whence we can draw the desired information. Who was the first minister of the

gospel of a given neighborhood? Where was the first church formed? Who were its members, and from whence came they? Where was the first school taught, and by whom? What were the social customs, the manner of living, the peculiarities of the first settlers? Who were the prominent men and women who had to do with the progressive growth in these neighborhoods?

To gather up the scattered grains of this necessary phase of our history, the State Historical Society was organized June 30, 1899, the outgrowth of a preliminary meeting of May 19th, of the same year, at the University of Illinois. The first annual meeting of the State society was held in Peoria, Jan. 5, 1900. Its second annual meeting of Jan. 30, 1901, was at Springfield, before then fixed as its permanent headquarters.

The historical society, so far, has been conducted wholly at the expense and time of prominent citizens of the State who have felt the need of such an organization. Without funds or recognition by the State, its proceedings have been published by the State Historical Library from its publishing fund.

At a late meeting of the historical society a committee was appointed to prepare and present to the Legislature, the draft of a bill, to establish the State Historical Society and provide a fund to defray the expense necessary to collect and preserve the local history of various sections of the State, as far as that can be done at this late day.

There is a rapidly growing interest relative to the history of Illinois that may well be encouraged by our Legislature. The president of the society is lately in receipt of a communication from Adolph Moses, the eminent Illinois author and publisher, who says in this connection that "too little has been done to elucidate the history of Illinois." Also later, a letter from J. M. Clary, A. B., president of Greer college, Hoopeston, Illinois, equally known as a man of scholarly research, who refers to the wide interest in the work of the State Historical Society. Letters of like import to the president, or other members of this body, could be multiplied here at great length were it deemed necessary.

At the last session of the Legislature, a bill approved May 10, 1901, was passed, which appropriated the sum of $2,500 for the purpose of procuring documents, papers, materials and publications relating to the northwest and the State of Illinois, and publishing the same, which fund was to be expended by the trustees of the State Historical Library with the sanction of the Governor. This act has acquired the name of the "Stubblefield Bill," in honor of Hon. George W. Stubblefield, the name of the Senator from McLean county, who introduced the measure. Under this act, the board of trustees of the State Historical Library has ordered material to be gathered and collated with a view to publication of the same. This work and the editing of it was assigned to H. W. Beckwith, by his associate trustees. Accordingly he has collected, arranged and edited matter for the forthcoming volume which is now ready to be

printed. The board is also in communication with a number of book publishers, from among whom a selection will soon be made to do the publishing. The board will keep the expense within the limits of the appropriation, but in doing so has been forced to scan and carefully curtail the selection of matter and the number of copies to be published, and at the same time give the various sections of the State their fair proportion of representation in the volume. The matter prepared is original and authentic, and places within the reach of the average reader what he could not otherwise acquire without an expense and research in which most private students could ill afford to indulge.

In conclusion, Governor, the board of trustees thanks you most sincerely for the interest you have taken in this important department of the State which you have placed in charge of the board.

H. W. Beckwith,
Edmund J. James,
George N. Black,

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 24, 1902.

Since the date of above last biennial report of the Board of State Historical Library Trustees, the historical volume therein mentioned as having been authorized by the "Stubblefield Bill," has been published and the edition of copies distributed to libraries and the members of the Legislature and of the State Historical Society, and others throughout the State who are specially interested in Illinois and western history.

At the late session of the Legislature the law organizing the Illinois State Historical Library (approved May 25, 1889) was amended by addition of a section constituting the State Historical Society "a department of the State Historical Library," a copy of the bill amending the above mentioned law is appended as follows:

A bill for an act to add a new section to an act entitled, "An act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889.

Whereas, said act, among other things, contemplated that "there be collected and preserved in some permanent form before it is too late to rescue from oblivion the memory of its earlier history and those who founded it, as well as those who have been connected with its rise and progress in later days," and

Whereas, this latter feature of the preservation of the history of the State of Illinois can best be secured through an Illinois State Historical Society with auxiliary branches organized in the various counties of the State, and

Whereas, there is already such an Illinois State Historical Society duly organized under the laws of the State of Illinois.

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:* That there be added to the

act of May 25, 1889, entitled, "An act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; an additional section to be numbered section 6, and which shall read as follows:

Section 6. That the Illinois State Historical Society be and the same is hereby declared a department of the Illinois State Historical Library, and the board of trustees of the said Illinois State Historical Library is hereby authorized to pay for the necessary stationery, postage and other like incidental expenses of the said Illinois State Historical Society, out of any fund the Legislature may appropriate to the said Illinois State Historical Library, for such purposes; and, also to pay the expenses of interviewing old settlers of the State of Illinois, examining county, church, school and the like records, at the discretion of the board of trustees of the said Illinois State Historical Library and the auditing of the accounts of which shall be subject to the approval of the Governor of Illinois. *And, provided further*, that all such material shall be the property of said Illinois State Historical Library and shall be deposited among its archives for reference and safe keeping.

Approved May 16, 1903.

LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY
ONTARIO

ERRATA.

On page 29, for "Arms of the Law," read "Forms of the Law."
On page 106, for "Coisbriant," read "Boisbriant.'

INDEX TO PUBLICATION NO. 8 OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY—"TRANSACTIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1903."

Page

Abbott, Lieut. Gov. Edward—English commandant, mention 59
Abbott, Wm., Jr.—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services 167
Abbott, Wm., Sr.—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services 167
Abolitionists in Illinois—public sentiment against, mention 77
Academy of Sciences, Chicago—mention 245
Ackerman, Wm. K.—author of "Early Illinois Railroads," mention, footnote 80
Adams County, Ill.—population in 1840, mention 119
Adams, Francis—private in the Illinois Regiment of Volunteers under Clark; receives land for services 167
Adams, President John—mention 102
Adams, President John Quincy—excitement attending election of by U. S. House of Representatives 195
Daniel P. Cook of Illinois casts deciding vote in U. S. House of Representatives 193, 195
Illinois casts decisive vote for 195
mention 78
Minister to England, mention 213
vote for by states in U. S. House of Representatives, described in letter of John McLean of Illinois, published in the Illinois Gazette, Shawneetown 195
Addendum to this volume—papers contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society, 127-302
mention 7
Address of Welcome to the Illinois State Historical Society—delivered by Hon. Wm. A. Northcott, Lieut. Gov. of Ill. 11
Adet, M. Pierre Auguste—French Minister to the United States, 1795-1796, directs Gen. Victor Collot to visit western part of the United States and make report on it 49
Affleck, James of Belleville, Ill.—honorary member of the Illinois State Historical Society; memorial sketch of life of 124, 125
mention 2
personally acquainted with all Governors of Illinois from Bond to Richard Yates the younger, mention 124
African Slavery—introduced into the Illinois country by Renault 108
Ague—prevalent in western country; causes of and treatment for relief of 162, 163
Aix-la-Chapelle—peace of 1748, mention 109
Akin, Edward Clay—Attorney General of Illinois 1897-1901; first native Illinoisan to hold this office 220
Allere, Bazelle—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Company Illinois Volunteers: entitled to land for services 176
Alabama—state of, mention 205
vote of, cast for J. Q. Adams in U. S. House of Representatives 195
Albany, N. Y.—mention 218, 219
Aldrich, Hon Charles—Secretary of the Iowa State Department of History, mention 7
Alexander, Samuel—member of the first Illinois Board of Canal Commissioners for the Illinois and Michigan Canal 203
Alexandria, Va.—mention 207, 209
Algonquin Indians—early allies of the French in North America 41
Allen, David—private in Illinois Volunteer Regiment under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
Edwin R.—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago; later citizen of Aurora, Ill.; mention 270-271
Isaac—private in Illinois Regiment Volunteers under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
John, Jr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
John, Sr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
Samuel—sergeant in Illinois Volunteer Regiment under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
Allery, Joseph—private in Illinois Volunteer Regiment under Clark, receives land for services 167
Alonton, Jacob—private in Illinois Volunteer Regiment under Clark, receives land for services 167

Index—Continued.

Page

Alton, Ill.—business firms of, borrow large sums of money from the State Bank of Illinois to corner output of lead from the Galena mines, and to promote growth of Alton as a rival of St. Louis 206
conference with Indians held at, mention..... 180
Lincoln-Douglas debate at, mention..... 230
place of unmarked..... 290
Lovejoy monument erected at, mention..... 290
Lovejoy murdered at by mob, mention 206
mention 66, 215, 217, 290
proposed early railroads to, mention..... 66
rival of St. Louis as chief city of the west 206
America—all tales told of the country much exaggerated by travelers and writers..... 151
mention 115
American Backwoodsmen—mention..... 275
American Bottom—Fort Chartres ruins lie in 105
mention..... 186, 187
population in increases..... 17
American Bottoms—mention..... 152
American Citizen—first one to be given the freedom of London (Hon. Andrew Stevenson)..... 98
American Citizens—plan to invade Spanish possessions 48
American Fur Company—Illinois a dependency of..... 118-119
offered better inducements to labor than the lead mines of Galena..... 120
pay rolls of the company, quotations from, for years 1818-1819, mention 118-119
American Journal of Pharmacy (The)—first publication in the English language devoted entirely to the interests of pharmacy..... 246
American Pharmaceutical Association—meeting of in Chicago, 1869, considers the necessity for pharmacy legislation..... 253
issues circular letter..... 246
American Republic—fathers of, leave important questions to be solved by their descendants 11
two great epochs in the history of, mention..... 11
American Revolution—French soldiers in, mention..... 49
American settlers in the Illinois country—mention 287
Americans—characteristics of, mention..... 156
mention 164
American Union—plotters against, meet at Fort Massac..... 40
States to be admitted from new territory; enactments for and requirements of..... 18
"Anarchist Cases"—conducted for the State of Illinois by George Hunt, attorney general of the State..... 220
Anderson, Mrs. A. R.—plays piano for entertainment of Mr. Lincoln in Rushville, Ill.... 237
Anderson, John—private in Illinois Reg't Vol. in Clark's army..... 167
Anderson, Richard Clough Jr.—member of Congress from Kentucky, reports the resolution admitting Illinois into the Union as a State..... 21, 22
Anderson, Col. Wm. P., U. S. A.—appointed recruiting officer and ordered to Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn..... 61
Andree, Jean—sergeant in Illinois Vol. Reg't in Clark's army..... 167
Anecdotes and stories of Jean Gabriel Cerré..... 276-278
Anecdotes of the U. S. Navy—in Western Intelligencer..... 186
Angel, "Joe"—boyhood friend of A. Lincoln. Their later meeting in Rushville, Illinois, anecdote of 227
Annual address delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society by Hon. A. E. Stevenson, Jan. 1903..... 16-30
Antere, Michael—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co., entitled to land for services. 176
Anthony, Judge Elliott—quotations from his "Constitutional History of Illinois" 100
Anti-convention and Anti-slavery parties in Illinois—united..... 101
Anti-Slavery Party in Illinois—Gov. Edward Coles recognized leader of..... 199
mention..... 101
Antier, Francis—private in Illinois Vol. Reg't in Clark's army..... 167
"Apocalypse" (The)—mention..... 43
"Apothecary Hall"—sign used by early drug stores of Chicago..... 244
mention..... 274
Apperson, Richard—private in Clark's army..... 167
"Arabian Oil"—manufactured by L. M. Boyce, druggist..... 269
Archeological remains near St. Louis—mention..... 153, 154
foot note..... 154
Archives at Paris, France—reference to..... 45
"Aristides"—pen name of political writer signed to article published in the "Western Intelligencer"..... 186
Armistead, Gen. W. K.—president of the board of army officers which recommended Fort Massac as site of proposed U. S. armory..... 51
Army of the Tennessee—mention..... 123
Arpents—used as the measure of land instead of acres in early French settlements in Illinois 86
Artaguette, Dirion d'—mention 58

Index—Continued.

Page

Artaguette, Pierre d'—French commandant in the Illinois country, 1734-1736, mention.... 46
mention, foot note.... 58
Articles of confederation of the U. S. A., mention.... 89
Ash, John—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services.... 167
Asher, Bartlett—private in the Ills. Vol. Reg't, under Clark.... 167
Asher, Wm.—Ensign in Ills. Vol. Reg't under Clark, receives land for services.... 167
Asia—English possessions in considered by the French in selling Louisiana to the U.S.A. 95
Assumption, Fort—mission established on the Ohio river by Father Mermet, mention..44, 46
Attorneys General—laws relating to changed, mention.... 216
Attorneys General of Illinois—a paper contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society by Mr. Mason H. Newell; published in annual transactions....211-220
constitution of 1848 made no provision for the office.... 219
State without such an officer 1848-1867.... 219
office made a constitutional one by constitution of 1870.. 219
Atkins, Henry I.—candidate for admission to the State Bar of Illinois; certificate signed by A. Lincoln....224-225
Atlantic Coast—English colonies on, mention....40-41
Attfield, Prof. John—mention.... 258
Atwood, John A.—editor of the Stillman Valley Times, mention.... 7
Aubry, Charles Philippe—French commandant at Fort Massac....44-45
leaves for Fort Chartres with his soldiers.... 45
mention.... 39
with his French troops selected site and built Fort Massac. 45
Auburn, N. Y.—mention.... 213
Austin, W. G.—druggist in Chicago 1835, advertisement of, mention.... 243
Austria—druggists of send money to aid Chicago druggists after the great fire of 1871... 258
Back, John—private under Clark, received land for services.... 168
Bacon, Lord—quotation from.... 26
Bad Lands (The)—Mauvais Terre—mention and foot notes.... 279
Bagby, John C.—Ardent supporter of Lincoln.... 225
Judge John C.—candidate for Illinois State Senate from Schuyler Co., 1858, on Republican ticket.... 228
Judge John C.—first meeting with Abraham Lincoln. Anecdote of.... 225
Mrs. A.—gives interesting historical information in relation to Lincoln's visit to Rushville.... 229
Bailey, David—private Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army.... 167
Capt. John—Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army, receives land for services.... 166
Baily, Francis—historical writer, gives account of massacre at Fort Massac, mention.... 41
Francis—noted English astronomer, visits Fort Massac.... 50
Baker, E. D.—member of Congress from Illinois, Galena district, votes against fugitive slave law.... 82
Baker, Prof. E. P.—of McKendree College, translates Ernst's Travels in Illinois.... 150
Ballard, James—corporal under Clark, receives land for services.... 168
Proctor—sergeant under Clark receives land for services.... 168
Wm. Bland—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services.... 168
Ballinger, James—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services.... 168
Larkin—private, Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army.... 167
Baltic Sea—mention.... 99
Baltimore—mention.... 163
Bankruptcy Act—passed by U. S. Congress.... 243
Banks, Dr—mention.... 249
Barbe, Marie—wife John Hanrion, godmother of child of Anthony Zibert....146, 147
Barber, John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services.... 168
Barclay Bros—wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850.... 251
Barensbach—a German settler in Illinois, his characteristics, mention, etc.... 157
Barger, J. B—letter from to J. H. Burnham on John McLean.... 199
Barker, H. E—makes motion in meeting of Illinois State Historical Society that a committee be appointed to solicit donations and loans to be exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.... 4
moves that the secretary of the society cast the ballot for officers for 1903. 4
mention.... 9
Baron, Sir Denis—death of....148, 149
Joseph—godfather at baptism of child of slave of St. Anne's parish....136, 137
Barrett, Mr. R.—his opinion as to prospects of mining in JoDaviess Co., Ill.... 36
R. F.—Illinois State Fund Commissioner, his attempts to borrow money for the State....69, 70
Barry, Wm—private soldier under Clark, received land for services.... 168
Bascom, Rev.—noted early minister of Chicago.... 249
Bass, Adam—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services.... 168
Bastien, Francis—child of, buried at Prairie du Rocher....128, 129
Bastile, (The) Paris—Louis de Kerelec imprisoned in, mention.... 110
Batavia, N. Y—mention.... 213
Batcheller, Ezra—clerk in drug store of Philo Carpenter in Chicago, later mayor of Lyons, Iowa.... 260
Bateaux (boats)—mention.... 106
Bateman & Selby's Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois—quotations from....76-80, 219
Baton Rouge, La—mention.... 122
Bay & Baldwin—drug firm, Chicago.... 271
wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850.... 251
Bay, ——, brother of Edwin R. Bay—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, mention.... 269

Index—Continued.

Page

Bay, Edwin R.—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce; later buys Boyce's business; firm became Sears & Bay 271
Bayou, Pierre—Aaron Burr visits 40
mention 60
Baxter, James—corporal under Clark; received land for services 168
Beach, O. L.—clerk in drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co., Chicago, mention 263
Bean, Peter—advertisement in the "Western Intelligencer," mention 186
Beardsley, Dr.—mention 249
Beardstown, Ill.—Lincoln's visit there Aug. 12, 1858, mention 228
mention 222, 229
Beaubien, Madore—mention 243
Beaubien, Mark—anecdote of his provision for the guests at his hotel 240
conducts public bar in Sauganash Hotel next door to Philo Carpenters' drug store 240
early settler and hotel keeper of Chicago, proprietor of the inn Sauganash, later the hotel, 1832 236-240
kept first hotel in Chicago 238
location of his log house hotel and the building of the Sauganash hotel 259
owned and operated a ferry in Chicago 238
Beaurbien, Baptist—nephew of Matthew Saucier, finds box containing molds for casting money 187
Beauharnois, Marquis de—Governor General of Canada, mention 276
Beausoliel (Don Eugene Pourre)—mention 279
Beauvenue, ——— —private soldier Capt. Charloville's company volunteers, entitled to land for services 176
Beck's Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri—reference to 114
Beck, Dr. Lewis C.—makes careful survey and drawings of Ft. Chartres 114
Beckley, Wm.—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Beckwith, H.W.—Absence of from State Historical Society meeting, mention 1, 9
appointed on committee to confer with Illinois Commissioners to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition 5
declines re-election as president Illinois State Historical Society 2
editor of book published under "Stubblefield" bill 300
elected first vice president Illinois State Historical Society for 1903 .. 4
greetings and resolutions of respect and esteem for passed by Ills. State Historical Society 3
president Illinois State Historical Society, absence of at fourth annual meeting 1, 9
president Board of Trustees Illinois State Historical Library, signs biennial report 301
Beckwith, Hiram W.—mention 12
Bedeau, ——— —mention as signing record with J. Gagnon, priest 128-129
Silam—mention 136-137
Beecher, Henry Ward—pays tribute to Samuel D. Lockwood 103
Begraw, Alexander—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services 168
Bell, William—private, Ills. Vol. Reg't, Clark's army 167
Belle Rivere (La)—Ohio, mention 51
Belleville, Ills.—Bennett-Stewart duel fought at 213-214
German book in public library, translation of 150-165
German democratic stronghold, mention 83
mention 2, 124, 212
public letting to take place at for a new county court house 181
Bellefontaine—U. S. Government western headquarters for military rifles, situated about ten miles above St. Louis, of 1816 185
Bellerive, Louis St. Ange de—accompanies Charlevoix through the Illinois country 107
commands at Ft. Chartres 107-111
dies at St. Louis December, 1774, see foot note 112
mention 276
Capt. St. Agne de—succeeds Sieur de Liette in command at Ft. Chartres 108
Bender, Lewis—died; private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Robert—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Bennett, Wm.—killed Alphonso Stewart in a duel, was convicted of murder and hanged 213-214
Benson, Charity—wife of William Sloo, mention 201
Benton, LaFayette Co., Wis.—mines of 37
Benton or Bemton, Thomas—private under Clark, received land for services 168
Bentley, James—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another; foot note 177
John—Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
private Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army 167
soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another 177
Berrey, William—Deserted Jan. 28, Capt. Jos. Bowman's company 177
Berry, William—In Capt. Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
private, Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army 167
soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another; foot note 177

Index—Continued.

Page

Berryer, M.—French minister of war, mention 45
Bertel, Chevalier de—commands at Ft. Chartres 109
suggests, means of defense for Ft. Chartres 109
Bethlehem, Albany county, N. Y., mention 218
Bevard, —— —private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Bienville, Gov. Le Moyne de—Governor and commandant general of the province of Louisiana 105, 106
mention 58, 108
recalled from Louisiana province 109
recalled to France 107
resumes governorship of Louisiana, 1734 108
Big Muddy River—Salines on, mention 184
Big Prairie, near Carmi, Ill 151
mention 282
Billiards—early Illinois laws against the game 73
Biloxi, La. (now Miss.)—mention 106
Bingoman, Adam—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Binkley, Wm.—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Birkbeck, Morris—his Illinois home, his historical writings, etc 150
historian of Illinois, mention 103
opinion on slavery 103
writes under non-de-plume of Jonathan Freeman, mention 103
Bird, Dr.—mention 249
Bird, Lieut.—commanded detachment Kentucky militia 49
Bird, Samuel—private under Clark; received land for services 168
Biron, J. B.—sergeant under Clark; received land for services 168
Biroth, Henry—Chicago retail druggist, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Chemical manufacturer of Chicago, 1860 248
mention 251
Birtel or Bertel, Chevalier de—French commandant in the Illinois, 1743-1749 46
Bissel, Capt. Daniel—in command at Fort Massac 40
Bissell, Capt. D.—stationed at Fort Massac 61
Capt. Russell—commanding officers at Fort Massac 61
William H.—anti-slavery candidate for Governor of Illinois 1856—his previous course in Congress 82
Black, George N.—appointed on committee of Illinois State Historical Society to confer with Illinois Commissioners to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. 5
chairman of the committee on legislation, asks for further time 1
chairman of finance committee, report of 1
makes motion in meeting Illinois State Historical Society that memorial addresses be accepted 2
member board trustees Illinois State Historical Library signs report. 301
mention 1, 5
named as one of the nominating committee to nominate officers of State Historical Society for 1903 4
Black, Mrs. George N.—mention 10
Blackford, Samuel—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Black Hawk War—James Semple's services in 216
James Turney, paymaster in 214
mention 222, 223, 290
Black Hawk's Watch Tower at Rock Island, Ill.—mention 293
"Black Jack"—or sulphide of zinc 35
"Black Laws" of Illinois—mention 92
Blackburn, Rev. Gideon—member of standing committee early Illinois State Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois history 14
mention, foot note 78
Blackwell, Robert—printer, preserves the files of Western Intelligencer 186
publisher with Cook of the Western Intelligencer 182
Blaine, James G.—mention 219
Blair, John—private Ills. Reg't, Clark's army 167
Ballard, Bland—Sergeant under Clark; received land for services 168
Blanchard, Rufus—author of History of Chicago; his account of the Chicago fire of 1871. 257
Blancher, Pierre—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Blaney, Dr. J. V. Z—Chemist 249
one of the founders of Rush Medical College 249
professor of chemistry in Rush Medical College 248
Blankenship, Henry—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Blearn, David—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Blein, Pierre—Corporal under Clark; received land for his services 168
Blennerhassett, Harmon—his connection with Aaron Burr 59-60
Life of, by Wm. H. Safford, mention 60
Island—mention 59, 60
Margaret Agnew—wife of Harmon Blennerhassett; account of her travels and sufferings 59-60
at Ft. Massac, learns of her husband's connection with the Spanish conspiracy 40
Blian and Johnson—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Bliss and Sharp—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Blocki, William—mention 251

Index—Continued.

Page

Bloomington, Ill.—Fire of June 19, 1900, meution 190
invitation extended to Illinois State Historical Society to hold annual meeting at 4
mention 9
proposed early railroads to 66
Republican convention of 1856, mention 227
Blouen, Daniel—private soldier, Capt. Charloville's company volunteers, entitled to land for services 176
Bluthardt, T. J.—mention 251
Board of Health of Chicago—from 1834 to 1860, members of 243
Bodney, A. R.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Bockee, Innes & Co.—wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850 251
Boisbriant, Pierre-Duqué de—acting governor of Louisiana, headquarters at New Orleans, arrives at Ship Island 105
French commandant in the Illinois country, 1718-1725 46
commissioned first king's lieutenant of the province of Louisiana 105
establishes military post in the Illinois country 106
Ft. Chartres built under direction of 106
Ft. Chartres, under Boisbriant, and his successors 107, 108
grant of land to, in the Illinois country 107
Bolton, Daniel—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Bond County, Ill.—mention 79
Bond, Gov. Shadrach—appoints Elias K. Kane Secretary of State 22
entertainment at his house attended by F. Ernst, description 152
Bond, Shadrach—first Governor of State of Illinois, mention 124
Governor of Illinois, mention 23
receiver of the United States land office 180
representative from St. Clair Co 20
sergeant under Clark, received land for services 168
Book Stores—authorized agents for patent medicines in 1833 241
Boone, Daniel—early resident of Maysville, Ky 202
in the Mississippi valley, reference 276
mention 249, 276
Boone, Dr. Levi D.—once mayor of Chicago, grandson of Daniel Boone 267, 249
Borcherdt, Capt. J. C.—mention 251
Bossu, Capt.—letter from the Illinois Country, dated July 21, 1756, quoted 110
letters of travel through Louisiana, dated at the Illinois the 15th of May, 1753, quoted 110
visits Ft. Chartres 110
Boston—goods shipped to Chicago in early days, principally from 247
mention 69, 247
Boston, Travis—soldier under Clark; received land for services 167
Boston, William—soldier under Clark; received land for services 167
"Bostonians" Indian—French name for Americans 279
Bostonians (Americans)—mention 279
Botanic Remedies—used by the early druggists 243
Bouchet, John—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Boulogne, Jane—wife of M. Louvier, godmother of the child of Alex. DuClaud 148, 149
Bourbon Co., Kentucky—Washington, the oldest town in—mention 202
Bourbonnoi, Cecilia—wife of Anthony Heneaux, mention 134, 135
Bowen, A. W.—early druggist of Joliet, Ill 261
Wm.—corporal under Clark, received land for services 168
Bowing, Ebenezer—private under Clark, received land for services 168
Bowman, Capt. Joseph—date of enlistment, discharge, mileage and pay for services under G. R. Clark 177
military company of discharged 178
pay-roll of his company under G. R. Clark 177
12 men of his company discharged at Kaskaskia, re-enlisted in other companies, foot note 177
Bowman, Christian—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
First Lieut. Isaac—date of enlistment, discharge, payment and mileage for services under G. R. Clark 177
George—drug store in Chicago, mention 244
Henry—druggist in Chicago, later in Sacramento and Oakland, Cal 271
clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, describes the store and the business methods 266-271
clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, later himself druggist in Sacramento, Cal 271
Henry & Co.—Drug store in Chicago 244
(Henry Bowman & Dr. Henry Ritchie), drug firm, Chicago 271
mention 273
Wm. E.—brother of Henry Bowman, clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago; removed to Montreal; his career, death of 271
Boyce, August D.—brother of L. M. Boyce and clerk in his drug store, Chicago 267, 270
Leroy M—branch drug store of, at St. Charles, Ill., under name of Freeman & Boyce 276
encourages the firm of Stebbins & Reed to locate in Chicago 243-244
executor of the estate of Erastus Dewey, mention 274
extract from diary of 266
fifth drug store in Chicago 243
financial crisis of 1837 does not affect 243
mention 248

Index—Continued.

Page

Boyce, Leroy M.—death of 266
drug store of; description of his drug store and his business methods, by Henry Bowman, a clerk in his store.....266-271
druggist of Chicago, 1838; his entrance into the field an epoch in the business..... 265
druggist and apothecary, advertisement of..... 266
manufactures linseed oil under name of Peck & Boyce..... 270
Boyer, Dr. Valentine—mention..... 238
Boyles, John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Brackenridge, Judge H. M.—visits the ruins of Ft. Chartres.....113-114
Braddock, Gen. Edward—defeat of, mention..... 44
defeat of 87
Brady, Henry B.—English druggist, member of committee to collect money to aid Chicago College of Pharmacy after fire of 1871; had visited Chicago shortly before fire 258
Brainerd, Dr. David—mention 234, 249
professor of anatomy in the St. Louis University.....246
Brashear, Richard—Captain under Clark; received land for services..... 166
Braun, Thomas—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Brazer, Peter—private; received land for services under Clark 167
Breeden, Richard—private, Ill. Regt. Vol., Clark's army..... 167
Breedon, John—Sergeant under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Breese, Sidney—candidate for Congress.....103, 208
daughter of; the wife of Charles A. Slade..... 209
early history of Illinois, quoted in reference to Ft. Chartres..... 110
historical writings of, mention..... 14
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society..... 13
member of standing committee to assist in collecting data of Illinois for early Illinois State Historical Society 14
mention 215
reference to Illinois reports of 212, 213
Bressie, Richard Thomas—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Brinckerhoff & Penton—druggists in Chicago, mention.....244, 264
Brinckerhoff, Dr. John C.—bought drug store of Philo Carpenter..... 260
British—arrogance, article on, in "Western Intelligencer"..... 186
colonies in North America, mention..... 40
flag, mention..... 18
generals, mention 275
occupancy of Illinois, duration of..... 47
rule in the Illinois country 18
rule in the Mississippi Valley of short duration 18
Broadway—street in St. Louis, mention 283
Brock, Hanson C.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Bronald, Henry—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Brown, Asher—private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Mrs. C. C.—mention..... 10
Collin—private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Erastus—member of first board of commissioners of the Illinois and Michigan canal..... 203
Henry—"Early history of Illinois," mention, foot note..... 76
quotation from his early history of Illinois..... 44
James—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 167
sergeant Illinois volunteers, Clark's army..... 167
John—of Rushville, early friend of A. Lincoln 223
served in Illinois Legislature from Schuyler county; friend of A. Lincoln mention 224
soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 168
Lewis—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 168
Low—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 168
Robert—mention 224
William—historical writings of, mention..... 14
member of standing committee to assist in collecting data of Illinois.. 14
William H.—of Chicago, comes to Illinois in company with Samuel D. Lockwood 213
historian of Illinois, mention 103
W. S.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Browning, Lieut. Isaac—Illinois regiment volunteers, Clark's army..... 167
O. H.—signs license of applicant for admission to Illinois bar..... 225
mention. 224
Brownville—town site not located but probably in the vicinity of the Saline on Big Muddy river..... 184
Brossard, Pierre—sergeant under Clark received land for services..... 168
Bryan, F. A.—clerk in Chicago drug store of the Clarke Bros 264
druggist in Chicago.....263, 269
member of Board of Health, Chicago..... 243
retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Bryant, James—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 168
L. R.—letter from suggests co-operation with Ills. State Historical Society 2

Index—Continued.

Page

Bubois, —— —mention 134, 135
Buchanan, President James—administration of, mention 210
Buchet, —— —mention 128, 129
Alexander—son of Joseph Buchet, baptism of 146, 147
Joseph—child of, baptised 146, 147
M. Joseph—guard of the King's magazines, mention 134, 135
godfather at baptism of child in St. Anne's parish 130, 131, 134, 135
Theresa—mention 128, 129
Buck, George—druggist of Chicago, member of a committee to draft pharmacy laws for presentation to Legislature of Illinois 253
Buck Mine—near Galena, Ill., described 32
Buck & Rayner—retail druggists of Chicago, two stores burned in fire of 1871 255
Buffalo, N. Y.—mention 68
Buissoniere, Alphonse de la—commands at Ft. Chartres 109
French commandant in the Illinois country, 1736-1740 46
leads second expedition against the Chickasaw Indians 109
Bulger, Edward—Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Bullock, Lieut. Rice, Illinois Regt. Vol., Clark's army 167
Bumey. Simon—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Bunker Hill Monument—mention 289
Burbridge, John (died)—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Wm. (died)—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Bureau Co.—Historical Society soon to be formed at Princeton, Ill 8
Illinois Old Settlers' Association, coöperation with Illinois State Historical Society suggested 2
wholesale drug store of Chicago, amount of annual business, loss by fire, insurance, etc 256
Burgess, Henry—clerk in drug store of Dr. Sawyer, Chicago, 1846 273
Burk, George—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Burnett, Robert (died)—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 168
Burnham, Ambrose—member of board of health, Chicago 243
Burnham, (E) & Son—wholesale druggists burned out in fire of 1871 255
J. H.—article on John McLean published by the McLean County Historical Society re-written and contributed to—Illinois State Historical Society transactions in "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois" 190-201
Burnham, J. H.—addresses the society as to the situation of the Louisiana Purchase Com 4
appointed on committee to confer with Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition 5
Barger. J. B.—letter from, on John McLean, ... 199
chairman of the committee on local historical societies, reads report of 8, 9
consults files of early newspapers, Western Intelligencer, in the mercantile library, St Louis 179
contributes paper on "An early Illinois newspaper; extracts from its files" to the Illinois State Historical Society transactions 179-189
declines to act on nominating committee to nominate officers for 1903 4
Eddy, John M.—letter of, on John McLean, addressed to 200
extends invitation to the society to hold its next annual meeting at Bloomington 4
letters on John McLean, addressed to 199-201
McLean County Historical memorial to John McLean, read by 190
makes motion that 30 days notice to the members of the Illinois State Historical Society be given in cases where amendments to the constitution are contemplated 2
makes motion that thanks be sent to the Bureau County Historical Society 2
member board of directors Illinois State Historical Society for 1903 4
member of the committee on publication 7
member of committee on local historical societies 9
member of the program committee 8
moves that discussion on papers and addresses be left to the discretion of the presiding officer 3
motion of, regarding discussion on papers, addresses, etc., carried 3
moves that the presidents of local historical societies be made honorary vice presidents 14
named as one of the nominating committee to nominate officers for 1903 4
reads reports of his visits to historical societies 1
visits various State societies, makes report 5
Walker, J. D.—letter of on John McLean, to 200, 201
Burr, Aaron—arrested at Fort Stoddard 40
his ambitions and plans 59-60
meets members of the Spanish conspiracy at Fort Massac 48, 58-60
visited Blennerhassett's Island with his daughter 59
Theodosia—visited Blennerhassett's Island 59
Burr's (Aaron) Conspiracy—mention 48
Burris, John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168

Index—Continued.

Page

Bush, John—private Illinois Regiment; received land for service as soldier under Clark 167
Wm.—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Thomas—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Bushnell, Washington—Attorney General of Illinois, 1869, sketch of, mention 219
Business Meeting—Illinois State Historical Society Tuesday, Jan. 27, 1903 1
Buskey, Francis—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Butcher, Gasper—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Butler, Gen. Benj. F. of Massachusetts—mention 220
John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Butts, Wm.—prisoner; private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Byert, Elizabeth—wife of Ephriam McLean of York district, South Carolina 201
By-laws—committee on; and matters connected with the constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society 2
Cabbage, Joseph—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services 169
Cabbassie, B.—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Cadillac, LaMothe—governor of Louisiana, mentions Crozat's instructions to his agents. 43
Cahokia, Ill.—conquest of, mention 38
French at, mention 87
mention 115, 212, 281, 294
mention, see foot 176
Spanish expedition, organized at 94
Cairo, Ill.—bank; plans for organization of advertised, 1816 182
its importance as a strategic position in civil war 93
mention 81
proposed early railroads to, direction, etc 66
Sloo, James C., locates at 206
Caldwell, John—member of committee in charge of Cairo bank project 182
Caledonia—mention 54
Calhoun, John C.—disciple of Thos. Jefferson 11
John—founder of the Chicago Weekly Democrat, the first newspaper published in Chicago 237
California—discovery of gold in 34-35
mention 270
Callieres, M. de, Governor General of Canada—opposes plans of Juchereau 41-42, 57-58
Calvin, Daniel—private soldier Clark; receives land for services 169
Camp Douglas—(see Douglas) mention 293
Camp, Reuben—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Campbell, Alexander of Rushville—friend of A Lincoln; entertained Lincoln and Douglas 224
Campbell, David B.—Attorney General of Illinois, 1846; last Attorney General under Constitution of 1818; sketch of 218, 219
Campbell, George—Sergeant under Clark; receives land for services 169
Campbell, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Campbell, Maria Francis—wife of Thomas Sloo, Jr 205
Campbell, Robert Blair—U. S. Representative to Congress from North Carolina, mention 205
Cameron, James—Corporal under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Camper, Tillman—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services 168
Campo, Lewis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Campo, Michael—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 169
Canada—Beauharnois, Governor General of, mention 276
ceded to England by Treaty of Paris 46
government of, encourages agriculture, mining and manufactures among the people 276
Illinois country a dependency of 17
Lancet, (The)—Medical journal edited by Dr. Wm. E. Bowman 271
Louisiana; province of, separated from 108
mention 40, 45, 95, 96, 106, 109, 280, 286, 287
Canadian archives—paper in containing a declaration of Sieur Gabriel Cerré, quotation from 278, 279
Canadian habitants of the neighborhood of Ft, Massac tell story of the massacre at the fort 41
Canadian noblesse—mention 275
Canadians—accompany Juchereau 41
Canal—between Mississippi and Illinois rivers and Great Lakes; its desirability 90
Commissioners appointed for the Illinois and Michigan canal 203
Illinois and Michigan 68
Canals in Illinois—early movements in favor of 65
Canals much talked of in Illinois in early days 65
Cannon (or Canore) Andrew—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Cannons—taken from the ruins of Ft Chartres in 1812 114
Canton, Illinois—early newspapers of, mention 229
Chapman, Capt. John—Illinois Regiment Volunteers, Clark's army; received land for services 166
Cape Breton—mention 95
Capitol Building, Springfield, Ill.—(See foot note page 101.) 101
Carbine, Henry—Sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Carbonate of Zinc—mention 35
Carlisle, Pa.—mention 295
Carlyle, Illinois—founded by Chas. Slade, 1824 207
home of Chas. Slade and family 209
mention 210
Slade (Chas.) builds first mill in 207

Index—Continued.

Page

Carlyle Township, Clinton Co., Ill.—"Hill's Fort" at 207
Carmi, White Co., Ill.—mention 213
sale of town lots in, advertised in the Western Intelligencer" ... 184
visited by F. Ernst in 1819 and described 150–151
Carolinas (The)—mention 57
Carondelet, Baron de—Spanish officer, plan to detach the west from the U. S., details .. 48–49
Carpenter, Abel E.—brother of Philo Carpenter and clerk in his drug store in Chicago ... 260
Philo—first druggist in Chicago; sketch of life of 258, 259, 260
arrival at Chicago, how he traveled; his aid to Cholera sufferers; opens a drug store 240
arrival at Chicago, method of traveling, etc., his stock of goods, his store, etc 236
financial crisis of 1837 does not affect business of 243
his service to the people of Chicago in cholera epidemic of 1832 ..... 258, 259
lumber used in buildings erected by, in Chicago, in 1833, hauled by ox teams from Indiana 241
opens drug store in log building of Mark Beaubien, next to Sauganash hotel, 1832 259
opposed to use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage 240, 259
purchases lots on South Water st., Chicago; price paid for, mention ... 241
removes drug store to the log cabin of Geo. W. Dole, South Water and Clark sts., Chicago 241
rents log store room from Mark Beaubien 240
scruples against the sale of alcoholic beverages 243
shipped stock of goods from Troy, N. Y., to Fort Dearborn, 1832 240
Carthage Guards—Elisha B. Hamilton member of 122
Carthage, Hancock County Ill.—mention 122
Casey, Zadok—member of standing committee, to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
Caseyville, Ill.—mention 53
Cartwill, Nathan—deserted Jan. 28, Capt. Joseph Bowman's company 177
Cartwright, Rev. Peter—defeated for Congress by A. Lincoln 224
home of, should be marked with suitable tablet 292
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society 13
Cartwright Township, Sangamon Co., Ill.—mention footnote 160
Cavagnal, Marquis de Vaudreuil—appointed governor of the province of Louisiana 109
Catholic Church in Kaskaskia—its eloquent young French priest 152
Catskill, N. Y.—mention 219
Cerré (Madame) Catherine—wife of Jean Gabriel Cerré: anecdote of her trust in her husband 278
Cerré (Madame) Catherine, Giard—wife of Jean Gabriel Cerré; death and burial of 286
Cerré, Jean Gabriel—accused of inciting Indians to murder 280
charge proved false 281
Jean Gabriel—administers law in the Mississippi valley 275
anecdotes and stories of 276–278
appointed one of the syndics of St. Louis 283
born at Montreal, August 12, 1734 276
buys property in St. Louis, removes his family to that city 283
death of 286
declaration of, made to Rochblave 279
early childhood and youth, no history of 276
education of 276
elected magistrate in the Illinois country 282
encounter with the Indians on the Desplaines river 277, 278
established at Kaskaskia in 1755 276
father-in-law of August Chouteau, mention 282
his answers in French language, to questions asked by Congressional committee 288
Hubbard relates adventures of 276, 277
Hubbard spells name Sara; see foot note 277
ignored by writers of Illinois history; see foot note 275
in Mississippi valley twelve years before Daniel Boone 276
influential man, his friendship much desired by George Rogers Clark 279, 280, 281
Judge of the court for the district of Kaskaskia, mention; see foot note 275
Kaskaskia church, records show records of two slaves, belonging to, burials of 288
life in the Mississippi valley 275
makes frequent visits to Canada 285
part in the fight at Quebec prior to its surrender, mention 276
petition for grant of land, official action upon, etc 284, 285, 286
questions asked of, by a committee of the U. S. Congress 286, 287
replies of Mr Cerre 287, 288
renders valuable service to Geo. Rogers Clark 275
Reynolds' history of Illinois, mentions name of; see foot note 275
sketch of by Judge Walter B. Douglas 275–278
takes oath of allegiance to U. S 281
Todd (Col. John), order to, mention; see foot note 275
wealthy merchant of St. Louis; see foot note 275
Cerré, Pascal L—son of Jean Gabriel Cerré, mention 285, 286
Certain, Page—private under Clark, entitled to land for services 169

Index—Continued.

Page

Chamberlain, M. H—makes motion that the matter of amendment to the constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society be continued 2
motion made that thanks be extended to the Chicago Historical Societs for invitation to attend a meeting 2
member Board of Directors Illinois State Historical Society for 1903 4
mention 174
reads resolution of appreciation of the services of Judge Beckwith 3
Chambers, Ellick—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
Champaign County Historical Society reported from 8
Champaign, Ills.—mention 81
Champigny, Intendant of Canada—opposes plans of Juchereau 41-42
Champigny, M. de, Intendant of New France—opposed plans of Juchereau 57-59
Champlain—mention 145
Chaouanon Indians—party of placed near Fort Massac by Macarty 46
Chassin, Charlotte—Godmother to child of negress slave baptized at parish of St. Anne's 138-139
Chassin, Magdalen—Godmother at the baptism of slaves belonging to Madame St. Ange 132-133
wife John Baptist Malet 132-133
Chaplin, Captain Abraham—Illinois Regiment Volunteers, Clark's army 166
Chapman, Edward—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Chapman, Wm.—private soldier under Clark; received land for services 168
Charlton, Mo.—mention 215
Charlatans—Indians, priests or charlatans, anecdote of 42-43
Charles, (Joseph) & Co., St. Louis—importers and wholesale druggists, mention 248
Charleston, Ills.—mention 290
Charleville, Mr.—had a store on the French Lick Creek, 1714, mention 283
Charlevoix, Father Xavier de—arrival at Kaskaskia 107
Charlevoix, Francois Xavier de—mentions existence of a French fort near site of Fort Massac 41
Charlevoix, Father Xavier de—visit to Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, mention 107
Charlotte—Slave, baptism of, mention 138-139
Charloville—Capt. Francois company of volunteers, Clark's army, list of 176
Charloville—Capt. Francois military company of, mention 178
Charloville's—Capt. Francois, number in company of volunteers of; see foot note 176
Charloville—Capt. Francois serves with Geo. Rogers Clark; see foot note 176
Charney Gaiot—private soldier Capt. Charloville's company of volunteers, entitled to land for services 176
Chartres Fort, *See* Fort Chartres 289
Chaverneau, Sir Andrew—Godfather at the baptism of slaves, belonging to Madame St. Ange 132-133
Chaverneau, Andrew—mention 132-133
Chavin, Agnes—child of John Chavin and Agnes La Croix 128, 129
Chavin, John 128, 129
"Checkered Drug Store"—sign of Philo Carpenter's drug store; later than "The Gold Mortar" 260
Checkered Drug Store (The)—sign used by early drug stores, mention 244
Chemical Works—establishment of in Chicago in 1850, mention 248
Cherokee Fort (The Old)—name by which the fort on site of Fort. Massac was early known 41
Fort Massac, mention 62
Cherokee Indians—near Fort Massac, mention 43
mention 47
Cherokee River—early name for Tennessee river 39, 44, 45
Cherry, Capt. William—Illinois Regiment Volunteers, Clark's army 166
receives land for services 166
Chesterfield—McLean, John, compared to by John M. Eddy 200
Chicago and Northwestern R. R. Co.—pay-rolls of the first road to run a train into Chicago still in possession of the R. R. Co 121
Chicago—Board of Health of, 1834 to 1860, members of 243
Boone, Dr. Levi D. (grandson of Daniel Boone), once mayor of 249
Chicago Branch of the Bank of Illinois—opened in December, 1835 242
mention 238
Chicago—chemical works at, first established 1850 248
cholera brought to Chicago by troops at Fort Dearborn, 1832, treatment of 239
Chicago College of Pharmacy—forced to close for the term on account of the Chicago fire of 1871 258
reorganized after the civil war 252
its losses in the Chicago fire; aid given it by friends 257, 258
Chicago—civil war; list of names of druggists and clerks who enlisted in 251
commercial development of, mention 79
Chicago Daily American—advertisements in 271, 272
Chicagy Daily American May 16, 1842—extract from, in reference to Dr. Brainard 246
Chicago Democrat—first called the Chicago Weekly Democrat; founded Nov. 26, 1833, by John Calhoun; the first newspaper published in Chicago 237
Chicago Daily Democrat—advertisements in 272
Chicago Delegates to Whig Convention 1840, Springfield 226
Chicago Democrat—contains advertisements of Philo Carpenter's drug business 260
Chicago Democrat 1833—contained advertisement of the business of Peter Pruyne & Co.. 261
Chicago Daily Democrat of Oct. 29, 1851, mention 250

Index—Continued.

Page

Chicago Democrat of Nov. 19, 1838—mention 275
Chicago Democrat of Nov. 26, 1833—Vol. 1, No. 1, mention 241
Chicago—Dietz, Blocki & Co., chemical manufacturers in, 1860 248
Chicago Druggists—appointed committee to draft bill for pharmacy legislation; names of members of the committee 253
Chicago Druggist—becomes a factor in the political affairs of 1833 242
Chicago Druggists—partial list of those who were burned out in fire of 1871 255
their losses in the fire of October, 1871 ..... 254, 255, 256
Chicago Drug Trade—during the civil war, effect on, etc 252
Chicago—Drugs and medicines imported to in 1847, amount of, etc 242
Chicago—early drug stores of, apprentices of, salary, etc.; clerks of, salary, etc 245, 246
early drug stores of, list of 243
early drug stores of; proprietors of, men of education and strong personality. 245
early druggists of, active in charitable and philanthropic movements 245
early druggists of, educational efforts of a scientific nature, literature of 246
early druggists of, extracts from the diary of one 247
early druggists, German stores, location of, etc 248
Early history of the drug trade of Chicago by Albert E. Ebert 234-274
early mayor of, mention 249
epidemic of cholera in, in 1832 ..... 258, 259
exclusive drug trade in begun by LeRoy M. Boyce in 1838 256-266
exports of and imports of in 1833, mention 242
Father Kennison, last survivor of "Boston tea party" buried in; grave unmarked 291
freight rates to and from New York, 1837 239
fire of 1839, mention 272
fire of 1871, account of from Rufus Blanchard's history of Chicago 257
fire 1871, its extent, number of acres burned over, number of buildings destroyed, etc 254
fire of October, 1871, its magnitude and results 253, 254, 255, 256
fire, mention 14
fire of 1871, ruins of the city compared to ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii.. 254
fire 1871, Stebbins & Reed's prescription books saved, now in good order 249
first census of taken, July 1, 1837, population 4,170 people 239
first drawbridge in, at Dearborn street, 1834, description of 238
first drug store in, its location, description of the building 259
first hotel in, kept by Mark Beaubien, later the Sauganash Hotel 238
first newspaper in, the Weekly Democrat, founded Nov. 26, 1833, by John Calhoun 235
first physician, Dr. Elijah Dewey Harmon 239
first private dock in, built by Peter Pruyne & Co., location of, rental of land.. 260
first public ferry in 1833, at foot of Dearborn st 238
first railroad in, 1852 247
first shipment of western produce from, for the east in the schooner "Napoleon" April 17, 1833, mention 242
first Swedish settler in, said to have been Oscar C. Lange 263
gas used as an illuminant in, 1850, other illuminants, etc 250
general supply depot during civil war 252
harbor of improved, 1833 237
Chicago Historical Society—formation of, local institution, loss of in fire of 1871, re-establishment of 14
invitation from to the members of the Illinois State Historical society 2
marks historic spots in Chicago 291
mention 2, 4, 8, 14, 190, 191, 196, 245
sketch of John McLean, prepared for, by E. B. Washburne, extract from 191
Chicago Historical Society's collection, vol. 3, mention, see foot note 190
Chicago—history of the early drug trade in, compiled by Albert E. Ebert 234
in 1833, described by an English writer, "The Rambler," quotation 237
incorporation of, mention 261
increase of drug stores after 1865, incompetency of clerks, etc 252
Chicago Journal—mention 272
Chicago Journal of 1846—mention 120
Chicago—Lawson (Iver), pioneer Norwegian of, mention 249
location of early drug business by streets, etc., list of 251
Mahla & Chappell, chemical manufacturers of 1860 248
mail facilities between Chicago and New York in an early day 242
meaning of the word, original Indian spelling of it 234
meeting held to decide whether the town should be incorporated 242
medical college at (Rush), list of founders 249
Chicago Medical College offers use of its rooms and apparatus to Chicago College of Pharmacy after Chicago fire 258
Chicago—mention 6, 7, 27, 66, 119, 217, 219, 247, 273
Chicago National Republican Convention of 1860—mention 232
Chicago—Nelson (Alexander), pioneer Norwegian of, mention 249
Chicago Newberry Library—gift of Walter C. Newberry, mention 249
Chicago New Drug, Medicine and Paint Store—advertisement of Frederick Thomas of 1835 ..... 264, 265
Chicago Newspapers—early files of furnish much historical information 237, 238

Index—Continued.

Page

Chicago—number of drug stores, retail and wholesale, at the end of 1850 ... 251
Pharmacy in, record decade of 1840 to 1850 one of progress ... 243
Policemen who fell in Haymarket riot; statue to, its present location ... 291
present names of the streets of ... 235
present site of Auditorium hotel a potato patch in 1840 ... 236
Press and Tribune, edited by John L. Scripps ... 232, 233
printer's union formed in 1852 ... 119
population of, in 1831—mention ... 237
Pullman (Geo. M.), marks site of "massacre tree" ... 291
river—mention ... 164, 235
Rush Medical College at, list of founders of ... 249
School of Pharmacy, organized and incorporated in the winter of 1859 ... 247
seal of the city adopted ... 234
signs used by early drug stores in ... 244
State Bank of Illinois open branch at, mention ... 242
Illinois State Legislature, session of 1871-72, had been expected to hold session in Chicago, plans changed by Chicago fire of Oct., 1871 ... 253
statue to the Chicago policemen who fell at the time of Haymarket Riot ... 291
Stebbins & Reed, early druggists of; prescription books in good state of preservation, saved from the Chicago fire ... 249
stringency in money market, expedients adopted by Chicago druggists to meet payments and reduce interest ... 248
time necessary for making trip to New York from Chicago, computed ... 68
Times, May 9, 1869 (newspaper), Wilbur F. Storey, editorial on incompetent persons employed in drug stores, evil effects in, etc ... 252, 253
town site of, platted by James Thompson, canal surveyor, plat published Aug. 4, 1830 ... 234, 235
Tribune, its account of the Chicago fire, mention ... 254
Tribune, mention ... 236
value of town lots in 1834-1837 ... 238
Veteran Druggists' Association. "History of early druggists of Chicago," compiled from record of, by Albert E. Ebert ... 234-274
Weekly American; advertisements in ... 265
Weekly American, 1835, contains advertisement of drug business of Frederick Thomas ... 264
Weekly American (1835), contains advertisement of removal of W. H. & A. F. Clarke ... 263
Weekly American, second newspaper published in Chicago. A Whig paper published by F. C. Davis ... 237, 238
Weekly Democrat ... 263
wholesale druggists, 1850; list of ... 251
wigwam in which Lincoln was nominated; historic spot in Illinois, marking of ... 291
Chicagou—original Indian spelling of the word Chicago, its signification ... 234
Chicasaw Bluff (Third), D'Artaguette joined by Sieur de Vincennes at, on his expedition against the Chickasaw Indians ... 108
hold prisoners with the hope of reward ... 108
mention ... 62
second expedition against, led by Buissoniere ... 109
villages—mention ... 108
Chillicothe, Ohio—mention ... 60
China—mention ... 164
Chrisman, Henry—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged ... 177
Christian, J. F.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 ... 255
Cholera at Chicago, 1832; number of deaths, treatment of patients, etc ... 239
Cholera—epidemic in Chicago, 1832 ... 258, 259
Chouteau, Auguste—son-in-law of Jean Gabriel Cerré, mention ... 282
Cincinnati—formerly Fort Washington, mention ... 48
General Assembly of N. W. territory convened at ... 20
mention ... 20, 60, 64, 114, 202, 209, 215, 217
sends aid to Chicago after the fire of 1871 ... 254
Sloo, (Thomas, Jr.,) removes from, to Shawneetown, Ill ... 202
Civil War—effect on the drug trade; demands for supplies, etc., prices ... 252
list of names of druggists and clerks of Chicago who enlisted in ... 251
mention ... 205, 247, 273, 293
northern counties of Illinois helped to hold the State for the union; soldiers furnished by Illinois ... 91, 93, 94
service in, of Walter B. Scates ... 217
Clair (Clark)—fort, on Lake Peoria, mention ... 161
Clairmont, Michael—private soldier under Clark, received land for services ... 169
Clark, Col. George Rogers—account of his capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes ... 18, 177, 178
and the American flag ... 58, 59
army of, in conquest of the Illinois list of names and allotment of lands ... 166-178
Brigadier General, received land for services ... 166
captures Kaskaskia ... 18
Cerré (Jean Gabriel), of St. Louis, renders valuable service to conquest of the Illinois country by, mention ... 275
... 47, 166-178
devotes large portion of his journal to account of his relations with Cerré ... 281

Index—Continued.

Page

Clark, George Rogers—expedition of 18
expedition to the Illinois and Wabash country, importance of...38, 39
expedition to Vincennes, mention; see foot note..... 176
extract from his journal, telling of his dealings with Gabriel Cerre, at Kaskaskia.....279, 280, 281
his plans for further conquest..... 38
journal of, mention, see foot note..... 275
list of officers and private soldiers in Illinois army of, except pay roll of Captain Bowman's Co., copy of document No. 32 of Virginia, signed by John H. Smith probably a state official and addressed to the Governor of Virginia, foot note..... 177, 166, 178
memoir of, quotation from.....58, 59
mention 117, 276, 296
muster rolls of army still extant, duty of Illinois to publish..... 178
propriety of erecting a monument in his honor at Fort Massac... 298
soldiers under, mention.....166-178
Clark, Gov. William—of Missouri territory (brother of Geo. R.) mention..... 180
Clarke, Abram F.—of W. H. & A. F. Clarke, druggists of Chicago, their business, and his later career, death of..... 263
later, of Milwaukee, and Marietta, Ga., death of..... 263
Clarke & Co.—Druggists of Chicago, largest prescription business, mention.....263, 269
financial crisis of 1837, does not affect the Clarkes..... 245
soda fountain, introduced, in early drug store by, 1839..... 249
Clarke, A. F. & Co.—druggists in Milwaukee, mention..... 263
Clarke, Andrew—sergeant under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Clarke, George P.—brother of W. H. & A. F. Clarke, and clerk in their drug store in Chicago..... 264
Clarke John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Clarke, Rev. John—attended first Republican meeting ever held at Rushville, delegate to Republican convention at Bloomington, 1856..... 227
Clarke, Lieut. Richard—Illinois Regt. Vols., Clark's army..... 167
Clarke, Samuel C.—druggist of Chicago, known as the "Lame Clarke" afterwards of Marietta, Ga., death of.....263-264
Clarke, W. H. & F. A.—third druggists in Chicago, principal wholesale druggists mention.....243, 263, 264
mention 248
Clarke, Lieut. William—in Illinois Regt. Vols., Clark's army..... 167
Clarke, Wm. Hull—druggist of Chicago 1835, later city engineer of Chicago, death of..... 263
of W. H. & A. F. Clarke druggists of Chicago 1835, his business, future career, death of..... 263
Clary, J. M., A. B.—president Greer college, Hoopeston, Ill., mention..... 300
Class, C. F.—retail druggist of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Clay, Henry—mention.....211, 212
Clerks—(drug) of Chicago, civil war, list of names of clerks who enlisted in..... 251
Cleveland, Ohio—mention..... 62
Clifton, Thomas—Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another company..... 177
private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 168
Clinton Co., Ill.—Carlyle county seat of, citizens donate tract of land for public use..... 208
Clinton County, Ill.—Formed from Washington and Bond counties, Dec. 27, 1824..... 208
mention 207
Clinton, Governor DeWitt—Clinton Co., Ill., named for..... 208
Clontier, Marie Francis—wife of Francis Hardy, mention.....140-141
Cloud, Rev. Newton—president of Illinois Constitutional convention of 1847..... 24
Coal Fields of Illinois—description of; development of etc., their extent their influence on the growth of the State, uses of, etc.....84-85
mention 53-56
Coal Oil—first made in Maysville, Ky..... 251
Cockran Edward—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Cockran, George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Coeles Andrew—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Coffee, Samuel—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 169
Cogar Jacob—Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations, due..... 177
Cogar, Peter—private soldier under Clark, received land for services..... 169
Coger, Peter—soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another, foot-note..... 177
Cooheron, Dennis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Cole, Col. Edward—commands at Ft. Chartres..... 112
commands regiment at the seige of Quebec, mention..... 112
English commandant in the Illinois country 1766..... 47
Coles County, Ill.—mention.....101, 217
Coles, Edward—second Governor of the State of Illinois.....
acts as second in dueling affair..... 102
Address on, before the Illinois State Historical Society by Mrs. S. P. Wheeler 97-104
and the slavery controversy, 1822-1824, mention..... 75
anti-slavery leader in Illinois..... 77
arrival at Edwardsville, Ill.....101-102

Index—Continued.

Page

Coles, Edward—association with Thomas Jefferson, influence of 98
attends William and Mary college 98
birth place of 97
brings his slaves to Illinois to set them free, mention 76
candidate for congress 103
chosen head of the anti-slavery party 99
Coles Co., Ill., named for 24, 101
companionship with noted men, mention 98
compared by Washburne to John the Baptist 101
contributes four years salary for effective work in the Anti-slavery party 101
correspondence with Jefferson on the slave question, mention 98
death of, at Philadelphia 104
elected Governor of Illinois 99
engages in farming after term of office as Governor of Illinois 104
frees his slaves before entering the State of Illinois, etc 76, 101
friend to Samuel D. Lockwood 214
Henry (Patrick), kinsman of 98
Illinois and Michigan Canal incorporated during administration of 102
inaugural address of, comments on 99
in the capacity of a peacemaker 102
leaves Virginia with his slaves, 1819, for Illinois 99
mention 11, 203
no monument to memory of, in the State of Illinois 101
opinions formed on slavery 98
persecution of, by the pro-slavery men 102
presented to Louis XVIII, King of France 102
private secretary to President Madison 98
protegé of Thomas Jefferson 98
registrar of the land office in Illinois 99
removes to Edwardsville after term of office as governor 104
road laws in Illinois enacted during administration of 102
school laws of Illinois enacted, during administration of 102
sent on diplomatic mission to Russia 99
Virginian, advocate of a free state on the slavery question 24
Washburne's, (E. B.), description of 98
Coles, Isaac—private secretary to President Thomas Jefferson 98
John—father of Edward Coles 97
Mrs. John—mother of Edward Coles; mention 98
Colerat, Marie Magdalen—wife of James Silam, child of, baptised 145
Collot, Gen'l Victor—French traveler and writer, gives an account of massacre at Ft. Massac; mention 41
Collot, Gen. Victor—served in Revolution under Rochambeau; sent by French minister to visit western country; visits and describes Fort Massac 49, 50
Collins'—"History of Kentucky," describes Washingtoni the oldest town in Bourbon county 202
Hon. Wm. H., address before Illinois State Historical Society, entitled "Decisive Events in the Building of Illinois" 84–96
Coleman, Mrs. Julius A.—Regent Chicago Chapter D. A. R. 297
Colombia, South America—formerly New Grenada 215
Columbia River—mention 164
Colonial Lawyers—Fees of in 1638 120
Colorado River—mention 218
Commandants of the Illinois Country—English 47
French 46
Committee Reports—Illinois State Historical Society 5–9
Company (The)—of the Colony of Canada, organized to trade at Detroit 57, 58
Compagnie de L'Occident—mention foot note 95
Compera, Francis—private under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Lewis—private under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Confederacy of America—mention 89
Congress of the United States—passes ordinance on slavery 100
Congressional News—printed in the Western Intelligencer published in 1816 181
Congressional Records—consulted, see foot note 190
Conkling, Mrs. Clinton L.—mention 10
Connolly, Thomas—fifer under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Connecticut—claimed ownership of part of western territory 88
mention 73
Connor—a man employed with Benj. Van Cleve, quarrels with Maj. Thos. Doyle 63, 64
Conquest of the Northwest—by George R. Clark, history of by Wm. H. English, quotation from 58, 59
Conray, Joseph—secretary territorial legislature, council elects, mention 188
Conroy, Patrick—private soldier under Clark, received land for services 169
Constitution of 1818—framers of endeavor to carry out the will of Congress, etc 100
reference to 100
Constitution of the Illinois State Historical Society—an amendment to, discussed 2
Constitution of the United States—great work of the convention of 1787 19
Gladstone's opinion of 19

Index—Continued.

Page

"Constitutional Conventions and Constitutions of Illinois"—annual address delivered before the Illinois State Historical Society by Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson....16-3
Consul (First) of France—Napoleon, mention....94, 95
Continental Congress—Jefferson's plan for government of new territory proposed to.... 19
Contraw, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 169
Convance, Paul—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 169
Convention of 1787—"Constitution of the United States," great work of.... 19
1818—two most prominent members of, Jesse B. Thomas and Jno. McLean 22
Cook & Blackwell—publishers of the Western Intelligencer.... 182
Cook County—first mentioned in the census returns of 1840—population of.... 119
Cook, Daniel P.—advertisement as attorney at law, etc., in the Western Intelligencer.... 182
anti-slavery leader in Illinois, mention.... 77
anti-slavery man, McLean opponent, mention.... 192
attorney for Governor Coles.... 103
Auditor of Public Accounts of Illinois territory, Cook county named for 181
cast vote of Illinois for J. Q. Adams for President of the United States 193
clerk of the House of Representatives, territorial Legislature.... 188
Cook county, Ill., named after, Jan. 15, 1831, mention....24, 195
death of, Oct. 16, 1827.... 195
mention.... 213
debates between Cook and McLean on the slavery question, 1818.... 193
defeated for re-election to Congress.... 195
editor and publisher of the Western Intelligencer, 1816.... 179
elected to Congress.... 193
first Attorney General of the State of Illinois, sketch of....212-213
his generosity, anecdote of.... 213
Kentuckian by birth, but an advocate of a free State for Illinois.... 24
mention....192, 214
votes against the Missouri compromise of 1820.... 193
President John—of the University of Normal.... 199
Coontz, Christopher—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 169
Cooper, Dr. John—surgeon's mate at Fort Dearborn, 1810, probably brought first medical supplies to Chicago.... 239
Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 169
Corder (or Corden) James—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Corn (Indian corn or maize)—mentioned by Ernst....150, 151, 153, 159
crops in the American bottom 1816, the year of the cold summer.... 186
Corn Oil—Sidney, Sawyer, advertises.... 245
Cornelius—a boy who clerked in drug store of Philo Carpenter in Chicago not known by other name.... 260
Cornelia, Patrick—private soldier under Clark; received land for services.... 168
Corus, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Corwine, Richard—mention.... 202
Costa, J. B. de—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Couch Family (The)—mention.... 238
Coun, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services:.... 169
Counterfeiting in the Illinois Territory—mention.... 187
County Judges of the State of Illinois—attend reception to Illinois State Historical Society.... 10
"Couriers du bois"—mention.... 275
their habits of life, etc....86, 88
Cowan, Andrew—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Cowan (or Cowin) John—private soldier under Clark; received land for services.... 168
Cowan, Mason—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Cowdry, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Cowgill, Daniel—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Cox, James—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Cox, Thomas—tavern keeper at Kaskaskia....185, 186
Coxe's American Dispensatory—mention.... 246
Crabb Mrs. E. G.—mention.... 10
Craig, Maj. Isaac—goods sent to him to be forwarded to the frontier.... 60
Cranbrook Press, Detroit, Mich.—mention.... 233
Crane, St. John—private under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Crawford County, Ill.—mention....79, 217
Crawford, Wm H.—U. S. Secretary of War, mention.... 179
Crawley, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Creasey's, (Professor)—"Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," quotations from.... 84
Creole women at Fort Massac.... 40
Crevecœur, Fort—exact site of, questioned. mention.... 289
mention.... 87
Creze (or Cruze or Craze), Noah—private soldier under Clark receives land for services. 168
Crittenden, Major John—received land as soldier under Clark.... 166
John Jourdan—appointed Attorney General of Ill. territory, 1809, sketch of.211-212
appointed judge U. S. Supreme Court, elected to U. S. Senate, Attorney General United States....211-212
Thomas—appointed Attorney General of Illinois Territory, 1810, mention.... 212
Crockett, Lieut. Anthony—Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services.... 167
Joseph—lieutenant colonel, received land as soldier under Clark.... 166

Index—Continued.

Page.

Crooked Creek—mention 164
Crossley, Wm.—private soldier under Clark received land for services 168
Crown Point—mention 39
Crozat, Anthony—commercial monopoly in Louisiana granted to by Louis XIV, foot note 95
granted by Louis XIV monopoly of trade in Louisiana 43
receives grant from king of France of lands and mines 31
Sieur Antoine—mention 105
old fortlet built under, mention 106
Crump, Wm.—sergeant under Clark, receives land for services 168
Crutcher, Henry—volunteer and Q. M. under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Cullom, Shelby M.—mention 122
Cumberland River—formerly called Shawnee river, mention 39, 45
mention 28, 56, 57, 63, 283
settlers on, mention 49
Presbyterian Church—Rev. Ephriam McLean, a minister of 201
Cuming, F.—in his "Sketches of a Tour of the Western Country," first publishes the account of the "massacre" at Fort Massac 41
Cunningham, D. H.—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago 271
J. O.—member of Com. on Local Historical Societies of Ill. State. His. Soc. 8
Cure, Jean Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Currency—Auditor's scrip; scrip good for taxes, etc., used in Illinois 242
scarcity of, 1833, mention 241
used prior to 1835, mention 242
Curry, James—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services 169
Curtis, Rice—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Curtis—quotes from the Virginia Code of Honor (dueling) 102
Czar of Russia—mention 99
Daily American, Chicago American, June 15, 1839, mention 274
Dale & Heiland—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in great fire of 1871 255
Dalton, Lieut, Thomas Valentine—soldier in Ills. Reg't Vol. under Clark, entitled to land for services 167
Damewood, Boston—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Daney, Gerom—private soldier in Captains Charloville's Co. of Ills. Vols., entitled to land for services 176
Daney Joseph—private soldier of Captain Charloville's Co. of Ills. Vols., entitled to land for services 176
Daney Michael—private soldier in Captain Charloville's Ills. Co. of Vols., entitled to land for services 176
Danis, Helen (Helaine)—godmother of child baptised in the parish church at Prairie du Rocher, mention 136–137
godmother of child of James Silam 145
wife of Ignatius Hebert, mention 136–137
Dany, Helen—wife of Sir Ignatius Hebert, death of son of, mention 142–143
Danville, Ill—proposed early railroad to 66
Darby, Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Darby John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Daring, Henry—ensign in Ills. Vols. under Clark, entitled to land for services, mention. 267
Darnell, Cornelius—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 169–170
D'Artaguette, Dirion (or Diron)—held position under the French colonial government, mention 108
D'Artaguette, Captain Pierre—French commandant of the Illinois country 1734–1736, mention 46
D'Artaguette, Pierre—appointed major commandant of the Illinois country 108
burned at stake by Chickasaw Indians 108–109
expedition of against Chickasaw Indians 108
serves in the Natchez war 108
See Artaguette.
Dauphin Island—French ship and men arrive at, to take possession of Louisiana 105
Daughters of the American Revolution—mark grave of revolutionary soldier at Ottawa, Ill 291
National and Illinois Societies of, their interest and influence in the purchase and preservation by the State of Illinois, of the site of Old Fort Massac. 38, 51, 52 294–298
David, Negro Slave—advertised as escaped from Glasgow, Ky., reward offered for his capture 182
Davidson & Stuvé—authors of "History of Illinois," quotation from "the History," foot note 190 216
Davis, David—Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, mention 25
Davis, George P—president of McLean County Historical Society 4, 190
Davis, James—sergeant-major under Clark, entitled to land for services 169
Davis, J. McCan—member of committee on historical places in Illinois, of Illinois State Historical Society 9
member of committee on local historical societies of Illinois State Historical Society 9
member nominating committee 4
member of program committee 8
member of the publication committee 7
J. McCan—secretary Illinois State Historical Society, declines re-election, society by resolution expresses appreciation of his services 5

Index—Continued.

Page

Davis, Mrs. J. McCan—member of Springfield local reception committee for meeting of Illinois State Historical Society..... 10
Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Robert—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
T. C.—founder of the Chicago Weekly American.....237, 238
Dawson, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Day, Wm —private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Dean, James—(died) private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Debates of Daniel P. Cook and John McLean on the slavery question, mention..... 193
Debates of Lincoln and Douglas. See Lincoln-Douglas debates.
Deberiet, M. le Chevalier—major commandant of the Illinois 130, 131
death of a slave the property of, mention..... 145
Decamp, G. I.—assistant surgeon at Fort Dearborn, June 17, 1832, mention..... 239
Decatur, Ill.—proposed early railroads to, mention..... 66
Decisive Events in the Building of Illinois—address before the Illinois Historical Society by Hon .Wm Collins.....84-96
Decker, Joseph—sergeant major under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Declaration of Independence of the U. S. A.—mention.....19, 104
omission of slavery, paragraph in..... 98
DeCosta, J. B.—(noticed above under the letter "C") corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Découvertes et Etablissements des Francis dans L'Amérique Septentrionale; by Pierre Margry—extracts from.....57, 58
Decrand, P.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Dedham, Mass.—first school in the world supported by public taxation, located at..... 120
Deere, Mrs. Charles H.—Illinois State Regent D. A. R., signs memorial..... 297
DeKalb County, Ill.—historical society formed at, sends greeting to Illinois State Historical Society..... 8
mention..... 2, 291
Delassus, Don Charles Dehault Delassus—lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, petition to, official actions of, etc.....284-286
Delaware—Indian town once located where New Madrid now stands..... 282
Delessant, Miss Catherine—godmother of child baptised in parish church at Prairie du Rocher.....132, 133
Demar, Thomas—godfather of child of Anthony Zibert.....146, 147
Dement, Col. John—temporary president of Illinois constitutional convention of 1869-70. 27
Demun, Mr. Julius—copy of his translation of Gabriel Cerré's petition for a grant of land..... 284
Deneau, Sir—signs church record at Prairie du Rocher as a witness.....148, 149
DeNeichelle, Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 169
Dennis, Elias S.—in Civil War, in Legislature of Illinois, marries widow of Chas. Slade, dies at Carlyle, Ill..... 210
Denton, Thomas—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 169
DesMoines, Iowa—mention..... 229
DesPlaines river—mention.....164, 277, 278
DeSoto, Ferdinand—tradition that DeSoto's men once occupied Fort Massac..... 39
Detering, Jacob—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 169
Detroit, Mich.—captured by the British in the war of 1812..... 95
colony of, mention..... 58
mention.....39, 57, 62, 119, 240, 280
printers' wages, in 1837, record of..... 119
trading post for the Indian trade..... 57
"Devil Dick"—nickname given to R. R. Randall of Rushville when printer's apprentice, mention..... 226
Devilliers, Francis—record of burial of in parish of St. Ann, Prairie du Rocher, Ill....130, 131
DeWar—sergeant-major in Captain Chalorville's Co. Ill. Vols.; entitled to land for services..... 176
DeWitt, Henry—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 169
Dewey, Erastus—sixth druggist of Chicago, began business 1838.....243, 273, 274
announcement of executor's sale of his estate, in Chicago Democrat, Nov. 15, 1838, the only record of his death to be found..... 274
DeWitt County, Ill.—mention..... 121
Diamond Island Station—mention..... 63
Dickey, Judge T. Lyle—mention..... 224
Dickinson's Indians—mention..... 183
Diehl, C. Lewis—mention..... 251
Dietz, Blocki & Co.—manufacturing chemists, Chicago, 1860..... 248
Dionysius, Francis—witness at marriage in St. Ann's church, Fort Chartres.....140, 141
Dionysius, Silam—witness in church of St. Ann of Fort Chartres.....140, 141
Dixon, Father John—D. A. R. mark site of cabin of..... 292
Dixon, Ill.—mention..... 219
Dobb's Ferry—Long Island, N. Y., home of Robert G. Ingersoll, mention..... 219
Dodie, Gabriel—signs church record as witness.....146, 147
Dodie, Millet—mention.....132, 133
Doherty, Edward—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 169
Doherty, Frederick (died)—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 169
Doherty, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 169
Dole, George W.—early resident of Chicago, built log cabin occupied by Philo Carpenter as a drug store when he removed his stock from cabin belonging to Mark Beaubien.....236, 241, 259, 260

Index—Continued.

Page

Dole, George W.—mention ... 243
ships first invoice of western produce from Chicago to the east by lake schooner "Napoleon" ... 242
Dolphin, Peter—entitled to land as private soldier under Clark ... 169
Domené, John James—godfather of an infant baptized in the chapel of St. Philip ... 128, 129
Donne, John—C. M. S. under Clark; found not entitled to land ... 169
Donovan, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 169
Donow, Joseph—entitled to land as private soldier under Clark ... 170
Doran, Patrick—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co., dates of enlistment, discharge, mileage, pay ... 177
Doud, Roger—entitled to land as private soldier under Clark ... 170
Douglas, (Camp)—mention ... 293
Douglas, Stephen Arnold—ball given by him in Springfield, Ill., in celebration of his election to the U. Senate ... 73, 74
candidate for re-election to U. S. Senate in 1858; his debates with A. Lincoln in campaign ... 228
debates of 1858 with A. Lincoln (see Lincoln-Douglas debates) ... 11
his influence in holding Illinois for the Union in 1860 ... 83
in Congress U. S., attitude on slavery question ... 78, 83
mention ... 223, 224
monument erected to, by the State of Illinois—mention ... 290
resigns from seat on Illinois Supreme Bench ... 216, 217
visits to Rushville, Ill., much admired by Democrats of Schuyler Co ... 228, 229, 232
Douglas, Judge Walter B.—president of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, his "Sketch of Jean Gabriel Cerré" ... 275–288
Doyle, Benj. H—first Attorney General of Illinois territory, sketch of ... 211
Doyle, John—entitled to land as private soldier under Clark ... 169
Maj. Thomas—commands first U. S. troops stationed at Fort Massac, sent there by Gen. A. Wayne ... 44
commandant at Fort Massac, mention ... 49, 62–64
overbearing disposition of, known as "King Doyle" ... 62–64
Mrs. Thomas, wife of Major Thos. Doyle, mention ... 62, 64
Dresden, Germany—(Saxony), mention ... 248
Oneida county, N. Y., mention ... 219
Drow, Garr—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co. of Ill. Vols., entitled to land for services ... 176
Drugs and Medicines—imported to Chicago in 1847, value of ... 242
Druggists—country overrun with, after the close of the civil war, dangers from, necessity of pharmacy legislation, editorial comment in Chicago Times by Wilbur F. Storey ... 252–253
"Druggists' Circular and Chemical Gazette," monthly publication of, 1856, mention ... 246
Druggists of Chicago—accounts and sketches of. *See* Chicago Druggists ... 234–274
Drug Stores of Chicago—descriptions of. *See* Chicago ... 234–274
Trade of Chicago—early history of, compiled by Albert E. Ebert. *See* Chicago ... 234–274
Drumgold, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Drummond Furnace or Smelter—described ... 34
Drust, Daniel—sergeant major under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Dry Goods Stores of Illinois—young man advertises for a position in a dry goods store, published in Western Intelligencer, 1816 ... 187
Dublin Dispensatory—mention ... 246
Dubois, Sir—mention ... 138, 139
signs church record at Prairie du Rocher as a witness ... 148–149
Duc de Chartres—son of the regent of France, Fort Chartres, named in honor of ... 106
DuClaud, M. Alexander—military officer, child of baptised ... 148–149
godfather of the child of Joseph Buchet ... 146–147
slave, the property of, mention ... 136–137
Miss Elizabeth—godmother of a child of a slave baptized at Church of St. Ann, Prairie du Rocher, Ill ... 136–137
Marie Joseph—son of M. Alexander DuClaud, baptized ... 148–149
Dudley, Armistead—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Dueling in Illinois—the Bennett-Stewart duel, its lesson to the people ... 213–214
Duff, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Duk, Dr.—druggist of Chicago, mention ... 249
Dulhonean, Pierre—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Dumfries, Scotland—mention ... 124
Duncan (or Duncom), Archibald—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Benjamin—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Charles—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 170
Duncan, Gov. Joseph, of Illinois—mention ... 77, 103, 214
Matthew—printer to Illinois territory, mention ... 119
(or Duncom), Nimrod—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Dunn, Charles—Canal Commissioner of Illinois ... 235
candidate for Congress ... 208
DuPage River—mention ... 164
Durrette, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Dusablong, B—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Duselle, Mons.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 169
Dusinberry, H. P.—clerk in drug store of Sawyer, Paige & Co., Chicago, 1855, mention ... 273

Index—Continued.

Page

Dust, Daniel—sergeant in Bowman's company, dates of enlistment, discharge, mileage, pay.... 177
Samuel—deserted from Capt. Jos. Bowman's company under Clark.... 177
Dyche, Mrs. B. F.—of Evanston, Ill., (Grace Locke Scripps Dyche) daughter of John Locke Scripps, secures a copy of "Scripps' Life of Lincoln," has it reprinted, with introduction and notes....232, 233
Dyche, (D. R.) & Co.—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871.... 255
Dyer, Charles V.—noted abolitionist of Chicago, mention.... 249
Dyson, Howard F.—author of "Lincoln in Rushville," a paper contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society, and published in its annual "transactions".... 221-233
Eagle Store—Dearborn street, Chicago, mention.... 274
Early history of the drug trade of Chicago compiled by Albert E. Ebert, contributed to Illinois State Historical Society and published in the society's annual volume....234-274
Early Illinois Railroads; by Ackerman, mention, foot note.... 80
East Schuyler, Illinois—mention.... 229
Ebert, Albert E.—historian of the Chicago Veteran Druggists' Association, compiler of Early History of the Drug Trade of Chicago....234-274
Ebert, Professor—delivers lecture to Chicago College of Pharmacy just previous to the fire of 1871.... 258
Eddy, H.—of Shawneetown, mention.... 54
Eddy, Henry—buried at Shawneetown, mention.... 198
publisher of Illinois Emigrant, 1817, newspaper at Shawneetown, Ill.... 200
secretary of the first Illinois State Historical Society.... 13
John M.—information from old newspaper files on John McLean, letter of.... 200
Edgar County, Illinois—mention.... 220
Edgar, Col. John—LaFayette entertained at the home of.... 102
receives his commission as Brig.-Gen. of the militia from the President of the U. S., mention.... 188
John—representative from Randolph county.... 20
Edinburgh Dispensatory—mention.... 246
Edinburgh Pharmacopoeias.... 245
Edsall, James K.—Attorney General of Illinois, sketch of.... 219
Education fostered by the ordinance of 1787.... 89
Education in Kaskaskia—editorial on, in the Western Intelligencer, 1816.... 188
Educational Committee of the Illinois State Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, mention.... 5
Edwards, B. S. (Benjamin Stevenson)—signs certificate of applicant for admission to the Illinois bar.... 225
Dr. Benjamin—mention.... 124
Edwards County, Ill.—mention.... 180
Edwards Court House—post route, mention.... 188
Edwards, Cyrus—member of Standing Committee of early Illinois State Historical Society, to assist in collecting data of Illinois.... 14
Gov. Ninian—Governor of Illinois Territory, third Governor of Illinois, makes appointments....211, 212
admitted to be the most brilliant man in the State.... 209
candidate for Congress.... 208
death of, from cholera, mention.... 209
defeats Thos. Sloo for Governor of Illinois, mention.... 201
has cannons removed from the ruins of Ft. Chartres.... 114
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society.... 13
Governor of Illinois, mention.... 124
mention....180, 204, 212
property of, sale of lands, etc.... 181
territorial rangers known as "Governor Edward's Rangers," mention.... 183
United States Senator from the State of Illinois.... 22
Edwards Ninian, U. S. Senator—resigns, mention.... 194
Vote received for Governor of Illinois.... 204
Edwards, Ninian Wirt—son of Gov. Ninian Edwards, Attorney General of Illinois 1834, sketch of.... 216
first State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Illinois, appointed by Gov. Joel A. Matteson, 1854.... 216
quotations from his "History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards."....211, 212, 213
Edwards Papers (The)—edited by E. B. Washburne, quotation from.... 215
Edwardsville, Ill., Madison Co.—description of surrounding country, 1819.... 155
Edwardsville, Ill.—Edward Coles' arrival at....101-102
Edwardsville, Madison Co.—Historical Society to be formed at.... 8
Edwardsville, Ill.—Indian treaty at, mention....157, 159
mention....114, 124, 153, 156, 158, 163, 188, 214, 215, 217
proposed early railroad to.... 66
treaty made at between United States and Kickapoo Indians....157, 159
Egan Dr.—mention.... 249
Ehrman, John W.—mention.... 251
Eldredge, Dr.—mention.... 249
Elgin, Ill.—proposed Historical Society in.... 8
Elizabeth, Jo Daviess Co., Ill.—shipping point for ore, statistics, etc.... 34
Elizabeth—queen of England.... 201
Elizabethtown, Hardin Co., Ky.—mention.... 217

Index—Continued.

Page

Elkhart Farm—situated farthest north of any farm in the State of Illinois in 1819..... 161
Elkhart Grove (The)—in Illinois, mention..... 160
Ellis, Charles—mention..... 247
Elms, Jas.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services. (Died)..... 170
Elms, Wm.—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for military services..... 170
Emancipation Proclamation..... 11
Embarrass River, Ill.—proposed early railroad to start from..... 66
England—colonial policy and possessions of..... 40–41
druggists of, send money to aid in refitting the Chicago College of Pharmacy. 258
her victories in America. Napoleon's views and plans in regard to..... 94, 95
Victory in America over France..... 86
War declared between France and England, mention..... 109
and France, historic rivalry of..... 40
English Colonies—French plans to confine them to the Atlantic coast..... 41
Growth of, in New France, mention..... 276
English Colonists—their characteristics..... 87
English commandants in the Illinois country, list of..... 47
English colony, (The) saves the day for Illinois..... 103
English drugs—Great demand for, in early days..... 245
Indian allies, the Iroquois..... 40, 41
meadow, Edwards Co., Ill., visited by Ernst..... 150
mention..... 279
once occupied Ft. Massac..... 39
Robert—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
sovereigns and half sovereigns, gold coins used in 1833. mention..... 242
trade with the Indians of the Ohio county..... 40
Wm. H.—author of "Conquest of the Northwest"..... 59
Enniscorthy, Virginia—birthplace of Edward Coles..... 97
Equality, Ill.—Proposed early railroad to..... 66
Erich, Victor—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Erie Canal—building of it, its influence..... 79
mention..... 247
original intentions of in regard to..... 121
Erie, Lake—mention..... 162
Erie, Pa.—mention..... 62
Ernst, Ferdinand—first to build in town of Vandalia..... 163
"Travels in Illinois," 1819..... 150–165
visits caves on the Mississippi river..... 163
"Eririre," de M.—Francis Divillier; mention..... 130, 131
Erwin, Hon. L. D.—candidate for Illinois House of Representatives, 1858, from Schuyler county on Democratic ticket..... 228
Eschmann, Rev. C. J.—translator of the Prairie du Rocher church records..... 128–149
Estis, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Etruria, kingdom of, exchanged by Napoleon with Spain for Spanish North American possessions..... 94
Eureka, Woodford Co, Ill.—County Historical Society organized at..... 8
Europe—cities of, send aid to Chicago after fire of 1871..... 254
druggists, send aid to druggists of Chicago after the fire of 1871..... 258
grass plots of, beauty of..... 153
Illinois State agents attempt to borrow money in Europe..... 68, 69
Europe—mention..... 102, 113
European History—important events given in the Western Intelligencer..... 185
News—mention..... 185
posts and settlements in the Mississippi valley, Pittman (Capt. Philip) report on 112
Evans, Charles—private under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Capt. Jesse—Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, received land for services..... 166
Stanhope—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Evanston, Illinois—Historical Society, mention..... 4, 8
Ill.—mention..... 217
Ewing Family of Pennsylvania—John McLean related to..... 191
Hon. James S.—reads letter of Gen. McClernand at McLean county memorial exercises..... 190
related to John McLean, mention..... 191
Thomas of Ohio—mention..... 191
Hon. Wm. L. D.—friend and relative of John McLean, through whose influence in the Legislature McLean county was named..... 197
mention..... 215
Speaker of the House of Representatives of Ill. for three terms. 196
Executive Mansion of Ill.—mention..... 8
reception to the Illinois State Historical Society held at..... 9
Fache, Louis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Fair, Edmund—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Fairbanks, Mrs. Charles W.—President General D. A. R..... 297
"Fair Weather"—name of an Indian chief, mention..... 279
Fallen Timbers—battle of, mention..... 49
Falls of St. Anthony—mention..... 16, 95
the Ohio—Louisville, Ky., mention..... 64
Farmar, Maj. Robert—English commandant in the Illinois country, 1765..... 47
Fathers of the Republic—their wisdom..... 89
Favers, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170

Index—Continued.

Page.

Fayetteville, Ark.—letter written at, by J. D. Walker to J. H. Burnham on John McLean. 200-201
Feast of St. Peter—mention 140-141
Federal Constitution—mention 19
[illegible] nearest perfect of all schemes of government 30
Federal Union—lands ceded to by Virginia, to be used in forming Republican states for the Federal union 18
Illinois third state in 29
mention 18
Fernow, Ludwig—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Fever, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
Few (A)—notes for an industrial history of Illinois. Address before Illinois State Historical Society, by Ethelbert Stewart 118-121
Ficklin, Hon. Orlando B.—Compares Cook and McLean debates on slavery with those of Lincoln and Douglas 193
Field, Daniel (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
[illegible] Lewis (prisoner)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
Fields, Capt. Benjamin—Illinois Reg't Vol., Clark's army, received land for services 166
"Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," by Creasey—quotation from 84
Fillmore, President Millard—mention 212
Findlay, Rebecca Smith—wife of Thomas Sloo, Jr 202
Finet, Sir Hubert—godfather to child of Maturin Pinneaux and Marie Illinois 132, 133
Finley, Dr. C. A.—assistant surgeon at Fort Dearborn, 1830 239
First Consul of France—Napoleon 94, 95
Fisher, —— —an old man of Sangamon county, said to have been murdered by Trailer [illegible] brothers; anecdote of 218
Fisher, Dr. George, of Randolph Co., Ill.—Candidate for the House of Representatives, mention 184
Fisher, Dr. George—Speaker of the House, territorial legislature 188
Fisher, (Miss) Laura—thanks of the society extended to, for music 9
Fisk, Mary E.—wife of Gen. E. B. Hamilton 123
Fiske, Calvin J.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Flag of the United States, adopted June 14, 1777—carried by Clark 58, 59
Flandegan, Dominick—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
Flies—annoying to travelers on the prairies of Illinois, method of protecting horses from, etc 151
Florida—mention 48
Flour—High price paid in Galena 121
Flower, George—his Illinois home on the English Meadow (English Prairie), mention ... 150
mention 103
Floyd, Isham—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
"Foe (A) to Religious Tyrany"—article published in the "Western Intelligencer" of 1816 187
Fonda, General—mention 122
Ford, Governor Thomas—chairman on resolutions and amendments at second attempt to organize Illinois State Historical Society 14
historian of Illinois, mention 102
history of Illinois, written by quotations from, mention, foot notes 76, 190
member of standing committee to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
mention 22, 215
quotations from his "History of Illinois" 214, 215
"Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois"—Hon. John McLean, Hon. Thomas Sloo, Hon. Charles Slade, sketches of 190-210
Forquer, George—half brother of Gov. Thomas Ford, Secretary of the State of Illinois, mention 215
death of 215
elected Attorney General of Illinois 1829, sketch of 214, 215
his house in Springfield, etc 215
mention 103
his report on Illinois and Michigan canal 215
Fort Adams—on the Mississippi river, mention 61
Fort Assumption—site of, mention 44
Fort Chartres—abandoned by the British, seat of government transferred 113
articles on, by Dr. Homer Mead in Quincy (Ill.) Whig, mention 117
Bellerive, (Louis St. Ange de,) commands at Fort Chartres, mention ... 107, 108
Bertel, Chevalier de, commands at Fort Chartres 109
Bertel, Chevalier de, suggests to authorities means of defense for Fort Chartres 109
Bossu, (Captain) again visits, July 21, 1756, mention 110
Brackenridge, Judge H. M., visits ruins of 113-114
Breese's, (Sidney,) "Early History of Illinois" quoted 110
building on the fort, situation of, etc 106
Buissoniere, Alphonse de la, commands at 109
Charlevoix, Father Xavier de, visits to, mention 107
church of St. Ann at, marriage in 140, 141
Cole (Col. Edward) commands at 112
Congress reserves right on land on the Mississippi including Fort Chartres and its buildings 113

Index—Continued.

Page

Fort Chartres—creation of the company of the West or Mississippi company, mention.. 105
demands upon for men and aid in the "Seven Years' war with Great Britain"..... 111
description of..... 106
distance from Fort Massac..... 45
erection of the second Fort Chartres..... 109
Farmar (Major Robert), commands at..... 112
few of the records and official documents of, preserved..... 116
first court of common law in Illinois, established at..... 113
five cannons taken from ruins of, in 1812, mention..... 114
Galissoniere (Marquis de), governor of Canada (1747-1749), quoted in regard to defense needed for..... 108
guns taken to Kaskaskia from..... 178
Hall (James), description of..... 114
important link in the French posts from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico.. 106
Jesuits build church of St. Anne de Fort Chartres in village..... 106
Liette (Sieur de), commandant of..... 108
list of French commandants at..... 46
Lord (Capt. Hugh), succeeds Colonel Wilkins at..... 113
McCarty (Chevalier de), commands at..... 109
Mason (Edward G.), essay on, quoted..... 109
Mason (Edward G.), visits to in 1879, extracts from paper on..... 115
mention.....20, 45, 132, 133, 136, 137, 278, 289, 292
Mississippi river undermines walls of..... 113
neglect of..... 289
never again occupied after its abandonment by the British..... 113
new fort of, average cost, location, plans, etc..... 110
official enriched by building of the second Fort Chartres..... 110
Pittman (Capt. Philip), report on..... 112
powder magazines at, description of by Mason..... 115
suggested for an historic park, purchase of the site by the State of Ill.116, 117
Randolph county, Fort Chartres in..... 105
Reed (Col. John) commands at..... 112
Renault (Philipe Francois de) arrives at, 1720..... 107
Reynolds (Gov. John) description of, visits twice.....114, 115
river landing and ferry in vicinity named for..... 117
ruins of, lie in the American bottom, mention..... 105
St. Ange commands again at..... 111
St. Clair (Capt. Benoist de) commands at..... 109
seat of authority transferred to..... 17
seat of British power in Mississippi valley..... 105
seat of French power in the Mississippi valley..... 105
second one built after plans of Lieut. Jean B Saussier..... 109
Stirling (Capt. Thomas), commands at..... 112
Stoddard (Amos) description of in his "Historical Sketches of Louisiana" 113
surrender of the fort to the English..... 112
survey and drawings made of the old fortress for Beck's Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri..... 114
Villiers (Capt. Neyon de) commands at..... 111
water rises to a height of seven feet in, see foot note..... 113
Wilkins (Lieut. Col. John) of the 18th, or Royal Regiment of Ireland, commands at..... 112
Fort Clair (Clark)—on Lake Peoria, mention..... 161
Fort Crevecoeur—neglect of, history of..... 289
Fort Dearborn—government dock and warehouse at..... 260
memorial tablet commemorates site of..... 289
mention..... 294
reservation, Chicago.....235, 237
soldiers in, stricken with cholera.....258, 259
tablet erected, to commemorate, massacre at, mention..... 289
Fort De Chartres—its origin, growth and decline; address delivered before the Illinois Historical Society, by Joseph Wallace, M. A.....105-117
named for the son of the Regent of France the Duc de Chartres (See Fort Chartres..... 106
Fort Donelson—capture of, mention..... 93
Fort Du Quesne—evacuation of mention..... 39
mention..... 44
Fort—erection of one, at Rock river by Brigadier General Smith, mention..... 184
Fort Gage—mention..... 279
the old Jesuite building at Kaskaskia..... 177
Fort Henry—capture of, mention..... 93
Fortlet—old fortlet, built under Crozat, mention..... 106
Fort Madison, Ia.—mention..... 218
Fort Massac (Massiac)—built and named in honor of M. Massiac, French Minister of the marine..... 41
Fort Massac—name first officially spelled Massiac, but gradually changed to Massac..... 47
named in honor of M. de Massiac, French Minister of the Marine and Colonies..... 41
action of D. A. R. on purchase by State of Illinois of site of; memorial and law.....294-298

Index--Continued.

Page

Fort Massac—an address before the Illinois State His. Soc'y, by Mrs. Mathew T. Scott..38-64
board of trustees, law directing who shall constitute; duties of, etc.....297, 298
Clark's arrival at 58
description of site and surroundings, by board of army officers appointed to select site for U. S. armory 53, 54, 55
designated as base of supplies for Spanish troops in plans of Spanish conspiracy 49
different nations occupying..... 39
distance from Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia..... 45
first religious discourse in limits of State of Illinois preached by Father Mermet, on site of 42
flag of new republic unfurled there, first time on Illinois soil..... 47
Gen. Anthony Wayne sends garrison to 48
interest in, by the people; site purchased by the State..... 292
last French garrison leaves..... 45
mention..... 178
necessity for its rebuilding caused by dissatisfaction of western settlers, who planned to invade the Spanish possessions..... 40
number of troops stationed at.....60, 61, 62
official records of supplies sent to, by U. S. commissary general.....60, 61, 62
once (1800), only white settlement between the Ohio and Miss. rivers..... 50
or Assumption, described..... 46
plans that it to be rallying place and base of supplies for Spanish conspirators..... 48
reasons why it should be purchased and cared for by Illinois.....51, 52, 53
rebuilt and occupied by order President Geo. Washington 47, 48
recommended by board of army officers as best site for armory..... 51
repaired during war of 1812 and occupied by Illinois militia and rangers... 51
700 acres reserved at, by U. S. government for military purposes..... 54
site of, purchased by Illinois for State park.....297, 298
site selected and fort built by French under Aubry: description of the fort 45
Spanish plans to take possession of it.....48, 49
visited and described by Gen. Victor Collot..... 50
visited by Aaron Burr.....59, 60
visited by Gov. John Reynolds when he was a child, again later.....50, 51
visited by Francis Baily..... 50

Fort Massacre—Fort Massac sometimes so called, never officially so named..... 41
mention and foot note 58
the story of.....41, 44

Fort Massiac—built and named in honor of M. de Massiac, French minister of the marine 41
name of fort so spelled in French correspondence, but gradually changed to Massac..... 48

Fort Niagara—first of historical "chain of French forts," mention..... 41
mention..... 39

Fort Pitt—mention.....46, 112

Fort Russell—cannons from Fort Chartres mounted on..... 114

Fort St. Louis of the Illinois (Tonty's fort)—unmarked..... 289

Fort Steuben—opposite Louisville, Ky., mention..... 62

Fort Stoddard—Aaron Burr arrested at..... 40

Fort Washington (Cincinnati)—cannon sent from to Fort Massac.....48, 60

Forty-Second or Highland Regiment of British Troops—mention..... 46

Foss, L.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255

Foster, Mr.—mention..... 187

Foster, Henry—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170

Fouche River—mention..... 164

Fowler & Gates—druggists, Lebanon, N. Y., mention..... 268

Fowne's Chemistry--mention..... 246

Fox, Charles—John McLean compared to..... 193

Fox Indians (or Renard)—mention..... 108
Steward, John F., president of the Maramech Society of Kendall county, marks historic spot of the massacre of..... 290

Fox (or DuPage) River—mention..... 164

France—aided United States in Revolution, but was unfriendly later..... 94

France and England—historic rivalry of, mention. 40

France—banner of, reference to..... 112
causes leading to the contest that drove France from North America, mention.. 276
claims in the Illinois country..... 17
claims of territory of Mississippi valley..... 44
colonial policy and possessions 40, 41
colonization plans of..... 43
druggists of, send aid to Chicago druggists after fire of 1871..... 258
flag of, raised at St. Louis (1804) for one day, then taken down to rise no more in North America..... 286
ladies of, mention of..... 39
Louis XIV, king of, grants lands and mines to Crozat..... 31
mention.....16, 47, 102, 115
struggle for mastery of the new continent 17
surrenders claims to North American possessions..... 17
war declared between France and England, mention..... 109

Index—Continued.

Page

Francis, Marie—mention....132, 133
(negro) godfather at baptism of child of slave in parish of St. Anne..138, 139
negro slave of Lefernne, mention....138, 139
Francis, Simeon—editor Springfield Journal, mention....226
Frankfort, Franklin County, Illinois—mention....217
Frankfort, Kentucky—....211
newspapers of, mention....182
Frankfort on the Main, Germany—sends aid to Chicago after fire of 1871....254
Franklin County, Illinois—mention....212
Frazer, Abraham—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services....170
Freeman & Boyce—druggists at St. Charles, Ill....270
Freeman, Jonathan—nom-de-plume of Morris Birkbeck....103
Freeman, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services....170
Freeman, William—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services....170
Freeport, Illinois—Lincoln and Douglas debates, spot where the debates occurred marked by woman's club....290
Free Soilers in Illinois—mention....81, 82, 83
Free Soilers in Topeka, Kas.—mention....219
Fremont, John C.—mention....82, 83
presidential vote for, in Illinois....83
French, A. W.—called to the chair by acting president of the Illinois State Historical Society....2
motion in regard to papers read at annual meeting of historical society..4
objects to any discussion or criticism of papers read before historical society....3
French, Dr. A. W.—delivers address before Illinois State Historical Society, "Men and manners of the early days of Illinois"....65–74
French and Indian War—mention....41, 43, 45
French at Fort Massac—quarrel with Indians....43
French Colonies in North America—mention....40
French Colonists—secure titles to land in the Illinois country....106
French—commandants of the Illinois country, list of....46
French Colony in the Illinois—mention....109
French Defeat in America—treaty of 1763, effect of upon the development of Illinois....85, 86
French Drugs—great demand for in early days....245
French, Miss Effie—mention....10
French Empire—in the new world, reference to....16
French expedition planned to invade Spanish possessions in the Mississippi valley; Genet, French, minister to the United States, the agent....48
French explorers and their plans and religious views and their achievments....86, 87
French genius for selection of sites for forts—mention....39
French forts along Mississippi and Ohio rivers....40
French—Indian allies, the Algonquins....40, 41
French King (The)—loses all his possessions in North America....278
French King—mention....17, 277
French—laws and customs prevailed in Illinois....277
Lick creek, mention....283
Lick (The) on the Cumberland, site of present city of Nashville, Tenn....283
Louis d'or, gold coins used in 1833....242
method of colonization and dealing with Indians....41
monarch, mention....17
not successful as colonists....87
once occupied Fort Massac....39
people at the Illinois, mention....281
possessions in America, surrender of, to England, mention....41
settlement at mouth of Mississippi river, mention....40
settlers in Illinois, their method of dividing lands, dealings with Indians, etc..86
French Territory—Illinois once a part of....31
French—women at Fort Massac....40
Frey, Daett—private soldier, Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols.; entitled to land for services. 176
Freya, Philip—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago....271
Frisby, Maxon—attended first Republican meeting held in Schuyler county, Ill....227
Frost Stephen—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services....170
Fuller & Fuller—wholesale drug house in Chicago, escaped destruction in Chicago fire of 1871....256, 275
Fuller, O. F.—of Fuller & Fuller, Chicago druggists, gives an account of the preservation of their building in Chicago fire of 1871....257
Fuller, O. H. & Co.—wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850....251
Fundamental Laws—definition of....29
Funk, Henry—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co.; when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due....177
private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services....170
soldier under Clark; discharged from Bowman's Co.; enlisted in another, foot note....177
Funk, Hon. LaFayette—delivers address at McLean County Historical Society's memorial to John McLean....190
Furnaces or Smelters—early ones described....34
"Gag Resolutions" in Congress U. S.—mention....77, 78
Gage, Gen. Thomas—commander of British forces in America....17, 18
mention....112
Gagnia, Jacque—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services....170

Index—Continued.

Page

Gagnia, Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gagnia, Pierre—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gagnon, J.—missionary priest at Prairie du Rocher, Ill., 1743-1744, signs records of the church 128-149
missionary priest of St. Anne's parish of Ft. Chartres, mention..... 128-149
Gahagan—man employed with Benj. VanCleve at Fort Massac..... 64
Gaines, Capt. E. P., U. S. A.—arrested Aaron Burr at Fort Stoddard, afterwards commanded at Fort Massac..... 57
regiment of stationed at Fort Massac..... 57
Gaines John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Gaines (or Garner) Wm.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gale & Blocki—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Gale Stephen F.—early bookseller of Chicago, mention..... 241
Gale Wm. of Gale Bros.—mention..... 251
Galena, Ill.—early proposed railroad to, direction of same, etc..... 66
home of Gen. U. S. Grant..... 91
lead fields of, number of miners in 1743, mention..... 120
lead mines near described (The Buck Mine)..... 32
lead mines, mention..... 206
mines in and near 35, 36
shipping point for ore, statistics etc..... 34
Galena River—once called river of mines..... 31
Galesburg, Ill.—marks in fitting manner place of holding Lincoln-Douglas debates..... 290, 292, 293
Galissoniere, Marquis de—governor general of Canada. 1747-1749, quoted in regard to defense needed for Fort Chartres..... 109
Gallagan Owen—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gallatin Co., Ill.—John McLean elected to Legislature from..... 196
mention..... 208
Galva, Ill.—mention..... 219
Gano, Capt. (the late)—company of at Ft. Massac..... 61
Gardner, C. H.—retail druggist of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Garden City Hotel—burned in Chicago fire of 1871..... 257
Garrett, Augustus—mayor of Chicago, mention..... 249
Garrison & Murray—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out (store and drug mill) in fire of 1871..... 255
Garrison, H. D.—mention..... 251
Garrison, Wm. Lloyd—mention..... 104
Gas—as an illuminant, first came into general use in 1850..... 250
Gaskins, Thos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gavuidon (or Ganchdon), Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gayarre's History of Louisiana, vol. 3—quoted. *See* foot note..... 110
Gayoso de Leemos, Manuel—Governor of Louisiana, letter of to Gabriel Cerré..... 285
General Assembly State of Ill.—assistance asked of by Ill. State Hist. Soc..... 15
John McLean, Speaker of, mention..... 193
Genet (properly Genest), Edmond Charles—French ambassador to the United States, 1793, enlists men in French service..... 63
mention..... 48
Genrion, Jean—mention..... 140-141
George, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
George, Capt. Robert (Robin)—captain Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army; receives land for services..... 166
George III of England..... 98
Gerault, Capt. John—captain Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, received land for services..... 166
Germain, J. B.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
German Stores—early drug stores in Chicago, location of..... 248
Germans in Illinois—their influence and location..... 79
Germany—druggists of send money to aid Chicago druggists after the fire of 1871..... 258
mention..... 165
Germon, Father Barthelémi—writes a letter relating anecdote of Father Mermet and Indian charlatans..... 42
Gessie Jane—wife of Anthony Zibert, mention..... 140-141
Gevremon, Ethienne—death of..... 145
Giard, Catherine—wife of Jean Gabriel Cerre, her wifely faith, instance of..... 278
Giard Family of Kaskaskia—among earliest settlers of the Illinois..... 278
Gibault, Rev. Pierre—French priest at Kaskaskia and Cahokia..... 58, 59
assists G. R. Clark..... 58, 59
Gibbons, Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gibralter, Ill.—town of, mention..... 155
Gila River—mention..... 218
Gilham, Mrs. Ann—land granted her in compensation for her sufferings from the Indians..... 183-184
Gilman—Illinois Reports—reference from..... 217
Gladstone, Wm. E.—his opinion of the Constitution of the United States as a state paper 19
Glasgow, Ky.—negro slave named David, ran away from, offer of reward for, in Western Intelligencer..... 182
Glass, Michael—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Glenn, Lieut. Bernard—Ill. Regt. Vol., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167

Index—Continued.

Page

Glenn David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Godfrey Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for service..... 170
Godfrey, Gilman & Co.—firm at Alton, Ill., borrows large sums of money from the State Bank to attempt to corner output of the lead mines at Galena. 206
Gogar Peter—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Gold—discovery of in California, mention.....34-35
probability of its discovery in Jo Daviess Co , Ill..... 37
"Gold Mortar" (the)—sign over Philo Carpenter's drug store in Chicago..... 260
sign used by early Chicago druggists.....241, 244
Gomier, (or Gannin) Abraham—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
Good (The) Samaritan—sign used by drug store, mention..... 244
Goodloe, Henry—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Goodwin Amos—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Goodwin, Edward—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for service..... 170
Goodwin, (or Goodan) Wm.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.. 170
Gordon, Capt. Harry—chief engineer in western department of America, visited Fort Massac and described it..... 47
Gordon, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Goshen, Ill.—Merino sheep put up at lottery at..... 189
Gouday, James—deserted Jan. 28 from Capt. Joseph Bowman's company..... 177
Governors of Illinois—first six, of southern birth..... 77
Graff, Geo.—clerk in drug store of Clarke Bros., Chicago..... 264
Graham, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Grand Army of the Republic..... 123
"Grand Chain" (The)—described..... 54
mention 53, 57
Grant Co., Wis.—mention..... 37
Grant, Ulysses S.—Illinois' greatest soldier..... 11
mention..... 123
reference to..... 30
resided at Galena at opening of war, enlisted from there..... 91
Gratiot, Chas.—has controversary with the crew of his barge, mention..... 283
Gratiot, Jean—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Gray, Geo. L.—clerk in drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co., Chicago..... 263
Great Britian—claims of in the new world..... 17
seven years' war with France, mention..... 111
struggle for mastery in the new continent..... 17
war with, mention 180
"Great Father's Captain"—Indian name for French commandants..... 278
Great Lakes—French colonies on..... 40
mention 17
Green County, Ky.—mention..... 215
Green, Hon. Henry—gives statistics of shipment of lead ore..... 34
James, (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Hon. Reed—owner of site of Ft. Massac.....294, 297
Robert—ensign, Illinois Vol., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
Samuel Ball—ensign, Illinois Vol., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
Greene, E. B.—absence of, from meeting of Illinois State Hist. Society..... 9
Evarts B., Ph. D.—address before Illinois State Historical Society, "Sectional Forces in the History of Illinois"..... 75-83
Greene, Evarts B.—elected 2d Vice-President Illinois State Hist. Soc. for 1903..... 4
Henry S.—applicant for admission to Illinois Bar, license signed by A. Lincoln. 225
Greenup, Coles Co., Illinois—mention..... 217
Greenville, Ky.—McLean records state that John McLean studied law with Judge McLean in..... 201
Ohio—Treaty of, Aug. 3, 1795, real ending of Revolutionary war..... 49
Greenewald & Hoffman—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Greenwood, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 170
Greer, Chas.—surgeon, received land as soldier under Clark..... 166
Greetings and resolutions of respect and esteem for H. W. Beckwith, passed by the Illinois State Historical Society..... 3
Gregg, Lieut.—mention 62
Gregnire—mark of, as witness to church record.....140-141
Grimes, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Grimshire, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Grolet, Francis, Jr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Francis, Sr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gross, Lewis M.—county superintendent of schools, DeKalb county, Ill., mention..... 291
Mrs. Wm. L.—mention 10
Gubernatorial Chair of Illinois—mention..... 31
Guess, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Guinot, Gen. Thomas Sloo and wife join party of..... 202
Guion, Captain—mention..... 62
Frederick S.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Gulf of Mexico—mention 16, 17, 40, 94, 95, 106
Gwinn, Wm. (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 170
Habeas Corpus—writ of, mention..... 20
Hacker, William A.—president of Ills. Const. convention of 1862..... 27
Haldimand, Gen. Fred—Gov. Hamilton writes letter to, mention..... 281

Index—Continued.

Page

Hall, James—describes Fort Chartres 114
Hall, Judge James—died in Cincinnati in 1868, footnote 114
president of the first Illinois State Historical Society 13
"Sketches of the West," mention 114
visits Fort Chartres in 1829 114
Hall, Dr. Thomas P.—assistant surgeon at Fort Dearborn, 1823 239
Hall, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Halier, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hallowell, Maine—weather reports from 1816, the year of the cold summer 186
Hambright, Professor—delivers lecture before Chicago College of Pharmacy just previous to the Chicago fire, serious illness of 258
Hamilton, A. H.—clerk for Peter Pruyne & Co. Chicago druggists 263
Hamilton, Alexander—mention 19, 50
Hamilton & Woods—law firm, Quincy, Ills. 123
Hamilton, Artois—father of Elisha Bently Hamilton 122
Hamilton, Atta Bently—mother of Elisha Bently Hamilton 122
Hamilton, Canada 266
Hamilton County, Ill.—county seat of named McLeansboro, mention 192
Thomas Sloo, Jr., elected county surveyor of 203
Hamilton, Elisha Bently—memorial address on life and character of by Dr. J. F. Snyder read at meeting of Illinois State Historical Society 122, 123
assistant adjutant on staff of Gen. Fonda at Baton Rouge, La. 122
commands 8th Ill. infantry in East St. Louis strike 122
enlists in Civil War in company B 118th Ill. Vol. infantry 122
in memoriam 122
law partnerships 122, 123
marriage of 123
member of the famous old Carthage Guards 122
member of Illinois State Historical Society 123
mention 2
military service in Civil War 122
official positions of 123
Hamilton, Elisha Bently, Jr.—son of Gen. E. B. Hamilton 123
Hamilton, Gov. Henry—Clark attacks and captures at Vincennes 178
of Detroit, writes letter to Rocheblave in reference to Gabriel Cerré 280, 281
writes letter to General Haldimand, mention 281
Hamilton, John M.—Governor of Illinois, mention 122
Hamilton, Lucy A.—daughter of Gen. E. B. Hamilton 123
Hamilton—post at, mention 62
Hamilton, W. J.—clerk in drug store of Doctor Sawyer, Chicago, 1843 273
Hamlin, Howland J.—Attorney General of Illinois, 1901 220
Hammett, James—(died) private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 171
Hancock County, Ill.—mention 122, 228
Handy, Major—in 1833, in charge of improvements of Chicago harbor 237
Hanks, J. Dering—clerk in drug store of Doctor Sawyer, Chicago, 1844 273
Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad—mention 93
Hanover, JoDaviess County, Ill.—mention 36
Hanrin, Demar—witness at marriage in church of St. Anne of Ft. Chartres 140, 141
Hanrior—mention in church record as witness, fails to sign 148, 149
Hanrion, Demar—witness at marriage 140, 141
Hanrion, John—his wife Marie Barbe, acted as godmother of child of Anthony Zibert 146, 147
witness at marriage in church of St. Anne of Ft. Chartres 140, 141
Hansen, Nicholas—makes careful survey and drawings of Ft. Chartres 114
Hatcher (or Hacker) John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 171
Hatten, Christopher—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 171
Hardin, Francis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 171
Hardin, Judge—buried at Shawneetown, mention 198
Hardin, John J.—member of Congress from Illinois, Jacksonville district, supports John Quincy Adams, attitude on question of war with Mexico 78
Hardy, Francis—marriage of, in the church of St. Ann of Ft. Chartres 140, 141
Hargaman, F. C.—member of board of health of Chicago 243
Harmon Court—Chicago, named for Dr. Elijah Dewey Harmon 239
Harmon, Dr. Elijah Dewey—assistant surgeon at Fort Dearborn, 1830; Harmon court, Chicago named for him 239
first physician in Chicago except army surgeons 239
Harmony, Ind. (New Harmony)—mention 154, 155
Harper's—publication of May, 1866, statistics of lead mining published in, mention 34
"Harris"(The)—a steamboat, mention 163
Harrison, Benjamin—mention 22
Harrison, James—gunner with Clark; entitled to land for services 171
Harrison, Capt. Richard—captain Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services 166
lieutenant in Ill. Regt. Vol. Clark's army 167
Harrison, Richard—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Harrison, Gen. William Henry—intimate friend of Thomas Sloo, Jr 202
U. S. Supt. of Indian Affairs, represents United States at treaty of Vincennes 50, 51
mention 76, 92, 211

Index—Continued.

Page

Harrisonville—mention 153
Harrisonville, Ill.—meeting of citizens of Monroe county at, place of meeting, toasts drank to Illinois territory, etc 183
Harrington, James J.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Hart, Miles—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Haskell, Merrick—druggist, New York city, mention 268
Haut, Henry (killed)—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Havana, Cuba—Thos. Sloo removes to 204
Hawkins, Samuel—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hawley, Richard—private under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hay, John—member of standing committee of early Ill. State Hist. Soc. to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
Secretary of State of the United States 233
Hay, Mrs. Logan—mention 10
Hay, M. (Milton)—signs license of applicant for admission to Illinois bar 235
Haymarket Square, Chicago—mention 291
Haynes, Col.—agent for owners of site offered for U. S. Armory 55
Hays, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hays, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hazard, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hazel Green Mining Company—mention 36
Hazelnuts of Illinois—described 165
Heacock, Russel E.—candidate for Congress from territory of Illinois 181
log house and foot bridge of, in Chicago 236
Head, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hebert, Marie—daughter of Sir Ignatius Hebert 134, 135, 140-141
godmother at baptism of child in St. Anne's parish 130-131, 134-135, 146, 147
godmother of child of Joseph Buchet 146, 147
Hebert, Reneo—son of Sir Ignatius Hebert and of Helen Dany, burial of 142-143
Hebert, M. Ignatius—captain of the militia, St. Anne's parish 134-135
Hebert, Sir Ignatius—captain of the militia, mention, death of son 142, 143
daughter of, acts as godmother of child of Joseph Buchet 146, 147
mention 145
Heights of Abraham at Quebec—pivotal battle of the ages fought at 17
Heildebrand, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Helm, Capt. Leonard—Indian agent, receives land for services 166
Henderson County, Ill 228
Hendricks, Judge Wm. of Indiana—McLean county, Ills., at one time proposed to be named for 197
Hendrix, Andrew—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Heneaux, Anthony—mention 134-135
Hennepin, Father Louis—priest and historian of LaSalle's expedition, mention 16
Hennet, Madeleine (Magdalen)—wife of Michael Lejeune, baptism of child of, in the parish of St. Anne's 140-141
Hennet, Sir—signs church records as witness 148-149
Sonschagrin—mention as witness to, church records, fails to sign 148-149
signs church record as witness 145
Sir—mention 138, 139
Henry, Patrick—governor of Virginia approves plans of George Rogers Clark 38
called by one of our historians *ex officio* the first Governor of Illinois 18
Governor of Virginia, mention 18, 88
kinsman of Edward Coles 98
Herrick, Dr.—mention 249
Hertel, M.—his friendly relations with Indians, mention 46
Heuermann H. W.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Hewett, Thomas J.—one of the committee on resolutions and amendments at several attempts to organize Illinois State Historical Societies 14
Heywood, Berry—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hicks, David—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hicks, Mordecai (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Hico, Peter, Jr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Sr.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Higgins, Barney—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 171
Highlanders—42d English regiment of British troops at Fort Massac 46
Hildesheim, Hanover—mention 150
Hildreth, Edward—son-in-law of Philo Carpenter, gives account of opening by Mr. Carpenter, of the first drug store in Chicago 259
Hill, John—probably first white resident of Carlyle township, Clinton county, Ill 207
Hillsboro, Ill.—mention 218
"Hill's Fort," in Carlyle township, Clinton Co., Ill 207
Historian of the Illinois State Historical Society—suggestion offered that such office be created 7
Historians of Illinois—mention 103
Historic Collections—of various natures suggested for Illinois Building at Louisiana Purchase Exposition 5
places in Illinois, report of committee on, to Illinois State Historical Soc'y ... 289-293
spots in Illinois—Committee of Illinois State Hist. Soc. named for marking same 9
suggestions as to inscriptions on monuments, tablets, etc., to be erected on 290
suggestions offered by E. B. Sparks to the Illinois State Hist. Society 9

Index—Continued.

Page

"Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois"—edited by Bateman and Selby, quotation from.... 219
"Historical Sketches of Louisiana"—by Capt. Amos Stoddard, quoted..... 113
Historical societies—reported from..... 8
Hitchcock, Charles—presiding officer of Illinois const. convention of 1870..... 27
Hite, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hobbs, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hoffman, A. Beno—German apothecary from Dresden, located in Chicago, mention..... 248
retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Hogan, John S. C.—postmaster of Chicago..... 236
Holland—mention..... 201
Hollanders—mention..... 201
Hollandi, John Baptist—baptism of child of, named Louis, in the parish of St. Anne's.138-139
Louis—son of John Baptist Holandi and Charlotte Marchand.....138-139
Hollman, Mr.—traveling companion of F. Ernst; extracts from his diary.....156-157
Hollis, Joshua—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Holly, Mr.—reference to in letter of John M. Eddy on John McLean..... 200
Holmes, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Honaker, Frederick—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
Henry—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
Hooper, J. H.—retail druggist of Chicago (two stores) burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Hooper, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hopkins, Richard—Matross under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hopkinsville, Ky.—mention..... 217
Horn, Christopher—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Horn, Jeremiah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Horton, Adin—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hottinger, Anton—retail druggist of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Houghton, H. H.—publisher of statistics of shipment of lead ore from JoDaviess county, Illinois..... 34
Houndsler, Charles—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
House, Andrew—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
House of Representatives of United States—votes for president by states, John Quincy Adams elected, mention..... 195
Howard, John M.—clerk in drug store of Clarke Bros., Chicago..... 264
Howe, F. A.—executor of the estate of Erastus Dewey..... 274
Howell, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Hubbard, ——in partnership with Charles Slade, first merchants in Carlyle..... 207
Hubbard, A. F.—Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, mention..... 204
candidate for Governor of Illinois, vote received..... 204
Hubbard, Augustus Frederick—Lieut.Gov. of Illinois; announces himself as candidate for Governor of Illinois.....102, 103, 203
Hubbard, Gurdon S.—error in statement of in regard to location of French commandant in Illinois..... 278
gives anecdote of Jean Gabriel Cerré.....277, 278
relates adventure of Cerré.....276, 277
Hudson River—mention..... 247
Huffman, Jacob—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Huin, William—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Humphries, Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Humiston, Luther F.—mention..... 251
Hunt, George—Attorney General of Illinois, 1885, sketch of..... 220
Hupp, Philip—matross under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 171
Hurd, Harvey B.—president Evanston Historical Society..... 4
Hurlbut & Edsall—wholesale drug store of, in Chicago, amount of annual business, loss by fire of 1871, insurance..... 256
wholesale druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Hurricane of 1813—observations on its effects, by F. Ernst.....150, 151
Huste, Ligey—(deserted) Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co.: when enlisted..... 177
Hutchinson, Ann—followers of, mention..... 120
Hutchins, Capt. Thos.—English, afterwards American officer, visited Fort Massac..... 47
Hutchins, Thomas—invented township system used by U. S. for surveying government lands..... 47
map made by, mention..... 47
of the 60th regiment of Foot or Royal American army, afterwards geographer of the U. S..... 47
Huyck Brothers—retail druggists in Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Hynes, J.—mention..... 54
Icarian Community—mention..... 293
Ignatius, Peter—name given slave belonging to Madame St. Ange.....132, 133
"Illini" (The)—significance of..... 16
"Illinois"—a poem, quoted..... 104
"Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule"—by Joseph Wallace, statement taken from. 45
Illinois and Michigan Canal—Chicago, town on, platted.....234, 235
exhaustive and able report on, made by George Forquer, its influence..... 215
first canal board of commissioners.....203, 235
incorporated during Governor Cole's administration..... 102
mention..... 72
original account books, pay rolls of, etc., would be of great value to Historical Society if obtainable..... 121

Index—Continued.

Page

Illinois and Michigan Canal—speculation in lands of, mention 238
towns along, mention 262
Illinois—Attorneys-General of, article by Mason H. Newell 211-220
Illinois, State of, Attorneys-Generals of—Constitution of 1848 made no provision for such office; State without an Attorney General 1848 to 1867 219
Illinois, State of, Attorneys-General—law relating to changed 216
office made by Constitution of 1870, a constitutional one, on same footing as other State offices 219
Illinois Blue Book, 1900—mention, foot note 80
Illinois Building at Louisiana Purchase Ex.—plans for, mention 6
plans of Illinois State Historical Society, for decoration of 5-6
decoration of, suggestions offered 5
Illinois Central Railroad—its influence in uniting the localities of Illinois 80
Judge S. D. Lockwood, State trustee of 214
wages paid to graders, bridge carpenters, etc., in the beginning of the road 121
Illinois City—mention 155
Illinois Coal Fields—mention 53, 56
Illinois College, Jacksonville—mention 122, 123
Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis 1
Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Ex.—committee appointed by Ill. State Hist. Soc. to confer with 5
Illinois—committee of Ill. State Hist. Soc. to report on marking of historic places in Illinois 289-293
Illinois Congressman offered the United States Senatorship to secure a change in the northern boundary line of Illinois 120
Illinois Country—African slavery introduced into through Renault 107
Illinois, Country of—Boisbriant (Pierre Duqué de) establishes military post in 106
Capt. Bossu, letter from dated July 21, 1756, quoted 110
Illinois Country (The)—commandant appointed in 18
Illinois Country—commandants in, list of; English 47, French 46 ..... 46, 47
Illinois, Country of—D'Artaguette, (Capt. Pierre,) appointed major commandant of 108
Illinois Country (The)—dependency of Canada 17
early Indian villages of, mention 16
Illinois Country—enslaving of Indian captives in 107
Fort Chartres seat of civil and military authority in 106
Illinois Country (The)—French claims in 17
Illinois Country—French colonists secure titles to land in 106
French period in antedates many historic events in older states 289
French settlements in, the method of dividing lands, etc 86
Illinois Country (The)—first court of common law established at Fort Chartres 113
government of more stable after arrival of de Boisbriant, mention 106
Illinois Country—India company, land grants of in Illinois country 107
Illinois Country (The)—instrument (deed of cession of northwest territory by Va. to U. S.) by which Illinois became a part of the United States, mention 18
law enacted creating county of Illinois 18
Illinois, Country of—lead found in abundance in 107
Illinois Country—meaning of name Illinois 16
Illinois Country (The)—part of the French possessions 17
Illinois Country—Renault (Philippe Francois de), granted a tract of land in 107
Illinois, Country of—retained as a part of Louisiana 108
Illinois Country—soldiers leave to assist at Niagara 46
mention 58, 59
number of slaves in 287
part of the grant of Crozat 43
people, how governed 286-288
population of 287
Illinois Country (The)—questions relative to the government of, asked of Gabriel Cerré by committee of U. S. Congress; answers of Cerré 286-288
under British rule 18
under the government established for Louisiana 17
Illinois—creeks and rivers of 158, 159
Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution—their interest and influence in the purchase of the site of old Fort Massac 48-64, 294-298
"Illinois Emigrant"—newspaper published at Shawneetown, Ill., 1817, by Jno. M. Eddy 200
Illinois Gazette—John McLean writes letter to, on the election to the presidency of John Quincy Adams 195
Illinois Gazettee of Shawneetown—newspaper, reference to, see foot note 190
"Illinois Herald"—earliest newspaper published in Illinois Territory, founded in the year 1814 or 1815 179
"Illinois Historical and Statistical"—by John Moses, quotations from 211, 218
Illinois Historical Literature—scarcity of, mention 75
Illinois History—A. Lincoln, the man of its ideas; Ulysses Grant, the man of its armies; mention 11
ancient and interesting 294
Cerré ignored by all writers of, mention 275

Index—Continued.

Page

Illinois History—epoch in, mention 38
History—Pittman's work of great value to students of 12
Pharmacy law passed Legislature and became a law 1880, mention 253
Illinois House of Representatives—John McLean and Wm. L. D. Ewing speakers of 196
"Illinois Intelligencer"—Vandalia, July 6, 1826, extracts from, article on Thomas Sloo. 203, 204
Illinois Indians—join D'Artaguette's expedition against the Chickasaws 108
Indian language spoken by Mascoutens 42
Marie—infant of, baptized by J. Gagnon, priest 132–133
wife of Maturin Pineaux, buried at the parish of Fort Chartres 134–135
Regiment of Volunteers—under Clark, list of members, necessity for tracing; list of soldiers and allotment of land 166–178
River—canal suggested to from Lake Michigan 162
fine stream for navigation 164
French plans that it be means of communication between French settlement at mouth of Mississippi river and Canada 40
mention 40, 63, 86, 95, 158, 160. 162, 279
salt wells in, mention 119
tributaries of 164
Society—D. A. R. conference of, memorial to Legislature of Illinois 294–298
Illinois, State of—affairs of, controlled by pro-slavery men, mention 99
American Fur Co., operations in, pay of employés in, mention 119
anti slavery victories in, cause slaveholding emigrants to prefer Missouri 92
appropriates money for the removing of bodies of the early settlers of Kaskaskia, monuments erected, etc 289–290
attempts to frame a new Constitution to supplant the first one 24
attempts to make it a slave State in 1824 ..... 91, 92, 93
benefits to the people of, by the investigations of the Illinois State Historical Society 12
candidates for Congress, Edwards, Breese, Dunn, Slade, Webb, votes cast for 208
candidates for Governor, 1826, Edwards, Hubbard, Sloo, votes cast for each 204
coal fields of, their influence in the developement of the State 84, 85
Coles (Edward), comes with his slaves to, in 1819 99
Coles, elected Governor of 99
Coles (Edward), frees his slaves before entering; gifts to, protection of, etc 101
Coles (Edward), registrar of the land office in, mention 99
Congressional land grants in 68
constitutional conventions, lesson to be drawn from 28, 29
constitutional convention of 1818, held at Kaskaskia, Aug. 3–26, previous to admission of State 76
convention of 1818—ambiguous attitude of, on slavery question 76
constitution of, presented to Congress 21
election for delegates to 21
Elias K. Kane, leading spirit of 21
Jesse B. Thomas, president of 21
Jno McLean presents constitution of, to Congress 21
session of 23
Illinois, State of—Constitution of 1818—first constitution of the State of Illinois ....
attempts made to supplant it 24
Attorneys General, section relating to 212
creates council of revision to scrutinize all legislation 23
credit of the State, pledging of, a defect 23
distructs the executive and judicial department of the government 23
divorces, lack of restriction upon 23
dueling prohibited by 23
faith in the General Assembly 23
framers of, distrustful of power in hands of the people 23
prohibits imprisonment for debt 23
remains the organic law of Illinois for 30 years 24
status of the negro under 23
Convention of 1847—held at Springfield, June 7, 1847, to Aug. 31, 1847, Augustus C. French, Governor ....
mention 24, 26
Newton Cloud, president of 24
S. D Lockwood, a member of 214
Walter B. Scates, a member of 217
Constitution of 1848—adoption of 24
articles voted on separately 26
changes noted from the old constitution 25
council of revision abolished 25
creation of new counties restricted 25
creation of State bank prohibited 25

Index—Continued.

Page

Illinois, State of—Constitution of 1848—elections, time of holding same, changed 25
executive office, term of office fixed, salary of Governor, etc 25
granted a new lease of life by rejection of constitution offered in 1862 27
General Assembly, sessions of, compensations, etc 26
judges of the Supreme and Circuit courts, salary fixed 25
judiciary, powers vested in 25
legislative department 25
lotteries prohibited 25
makes no provision for the office of Att'y Gen'l .. 219
money borrowing by Legislature virtually prohibited 25
remains in force until 1870 26
State bank, creation of, prohibited 25
submitted to the people; when operative 25
township organization, provision for 25
Constitutional convention of 1862, held at Springfield, Jan. 7, 1862, to March 24, 1862; Richard Yates the elder, Governor 27
Constitution of rejected by popular vote 27
William A. Hacker, president of 27
William M. Springer, secretary of 27
Constitution of 1862—rejected by vote of the people 27
Address of the convention accompanying the Constitution 27, 28
Charles Hitchcock presiding officer 27
Col. John Dement of Dixon, temporary president of 27
leading members of 27
Constitution of 1870—Attorney General, office of made one of the constitutional offices of the State 219
Constitutional convention of 1869-1870, held at Springfield, Dec 13, 1869—May 13, 1870; John M. Palmer, Governor; present Constitution of Illinois 28
bill of rights 28
coal miners, suitable laws for 28
constitutional amendments provided for 28
Executive Department given additional power .. 28
General Assembly, prohibited from legislation on certain subjects 28
special legislation guarded against 28
suffrage, provisions for 28
veto power of the Governor 28
Illinois—Cook (D. P.) in Congress, U. S., casts the vote of Illinois for John Quincy Adams for President of the U. S 193
criminal, code of, first compilation of, adapted from Kentucky statutes by Judge S. D. Lockwood 214
currency 1834, Auditor's scrip; canal scrip; scrip for taxes, etc., mention 242
debt of, attempts to meet it, etc 68, 69, 72
dependency of Milwaukee branch of the American Fur Co., as related to fur trade 118, 119
development of, prior to 1840 in the central and southern countries 119
difference that might have been made in sentiments and interests of the people if 14 northern counties had been given to Wisconsin .81, 90, 91
early Congressional representation mostly of southern birth 77
early modes of traveling, expenses, etc 66
early political leaders, birth places of, mostly southern 80
early settlers of, mention 65
emigration to 71
English colony, mention 103
fertility of soil, products of 155
financial depression in 1837, mention 262
first Constitution of, provisions of, etc 23
Governors (early) of, southern birth 76
fixing of the northern boundary of Illinois, its significance and importance 90
foreign born population of, mention 79
formed from N. W. territory 39
fourteen northern counties, their influence 81
geographical position of, its importance 75, 93
granted permission to construct a canal connecting the Illinois river and Lake Michigan 203
highly favored by nature 162
historians of, mention 103
historic places of Illinois, report of the committee on 289-293
history of, Fort Massac's connection with 39
indentured slaves held in 99

Index—Continued.

Page.

Illinois, State of—industries of, by census returns of 1835 120
influence on, of Louisiana purchase 95
J. Q. Adams made President of the United States by vote of Hon. Daniel P. Cook of Illinois, mention 195
land in, prices, etc 71
lands of Kickapoo Indians in Illinois ceded to United States 156
Legislature, action in regard to railroad legislation 65–72
Legislature extends invitation to Gen. LaFayette, provides for entertainment of, etc 102
Illinois State Legislature—in 1849 declared in favor of the Wilmot proviso 82
second General Assembly, John McLean Speaker of 193
session of 1871–1872 had been expected to meet in Chicago, plans changed by Chicago fire 253
Illinois, State of—John McLean's ability as a lawyer shown in Legislative revision of the laws of 1827 196
Men and manners of the early days in, address before Illinois State Historical Society, by Dr. A. W. French 65–74
mention 11, 20, 104, 114, 158, 161
monuments erected in, over celebrated citizens 290
necessity of its preserving and collecting old pay-rolls, account books, price lists, etc., for historical purposes 118
need of co-operation for preserving the State's history 13
negro in, his status 77, 81
new counties organized in 24
no distinctive parties at time of Edward Cole's election 99
no railroads in, in early days, question of freight and transportation, etc 242
northern boundary extended, Judge Pope's amendment 21
opinion held that more appropriation will be asked for Louisiana Purchase Exposition 6
owes debt of gratitude to Clark and his soldiers, should publish muster rolls 178
part of the province of Louisiana, mention 105
political drama in 100–101
population of, percentage of settlers from different states, etc., in early history of State 75, 76
population in 1830 208
prairies of described 151, 156
prairies of, lack of sulphur in soil cause failure of wheat crops 36
present Constitution in operation a third of a century 29
present greatness of 13
probable effect upon, had England owned Louisiana 95, 96
public school system established in 1840 120
railroad building in, began in 1852 121
reapportioning of Congressional districts of, in 1831 208
reckless speculation in lands in 71
slavery all absorbing question in State 192
slaves in, census of 1820 76
slavery in, the sentiment of the people 76, 77
slavery struggle in, bitterness of the fight 92, 93
soil of described 153
southern immigration to 91, 92
Illinois State Bonds—depreciation of 68, 69, 70
Illinois State House—Senator's ball held in 73–74
Illinois State Senate—President *pro tempore* of, 1903, Hon. John McKenzie, mention 31
Illinois, State of—Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ninian W. Edwards first appointed 1854 216
township organization in, how effected 80–81
verdict of, in opposition to slavery 11
votes for John Quincy Adams for President 195
Illinois Volunteers (Clark's)—act of the Va. assembly makes no special provisions for officers of 176
Illinois, State of—volunteer soldiers in war rebellion, number of 93
Illinois Volunteers—under Clark 59, 166–178
Illinois State—woods in (timber) varieties 158–159
Illinois State Bank—Alton firms borrow large sums from 206
Illinois, State Bank of—(establishment of the Chicago branch) caused reckless speculation 238
Illinois State Bank—mention 261
Illinois State Historical Library—board of trustees seventh biennial report to the Governor of Illinois 299–301
publications issued by 15
its crowded condition 299
mention 7
publications of, mention 6, 15
trustees of, intention of to publish a translation of "Ernst's Travels in America" 150

Index—Continued.

Page

Illinois State Historical Society—annual address before, (1903), delivered by Hon. A. E. Stevenson....16-30
asks assistance of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois.... 15
chief function of.... 13
constitution of....VIII
copy of bill passed by the Legislature of Illinois making it a department of the Illinois State Historical Library....301, 302
first society organization lost for want of financial support, materials collected lost.... 13
general revival of interest in.... 9
indebted to the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library....6, 15
list of members....VI, VII
made by law a department of the Illinois State Historical Library....301-302
mention....11, 14, 15, 110, 121, 293, 300
necrological department of suggested.... 7
object and intention of its organization and continued maintenance.... 12
president of, mention.... 38
report to, of committee on historic places in Illinois. 289-293
second attempt at organization; met at Vandalia....13, 14
second society formed had no financial support from the State.... 14
third effort to establish a State Historical Society.... 14
transactions of, number of volumes, form of....6, 15
willing to perform necessary labor if State of Illinois will furnish means to publish muster rolls, pay rolls, and other documents, relative to Clark's conquest of Illinois.... 178
Illinois State University, Urbana, Ill.—meeting at, to establish a State Historical Society 14
Illinois Territory—address to voters of, signed by "Aristides" in the "Western Intelligence".... 187
cold summer of 1816, mention.... 186
convention called to amend the Constitution of 1818.... 100
Cook (Daniel P.) Auditor of Public Accounts of.... 181
counterfeiting in.... 187
earliest newspaper in, "The Illinois Herald" founded in Kaskaskia, either in 1814 or 1815.... 179
first decisive steps to its admission into the Union.... 20
first newspaper in, mention....119, 179
Governor of, had power to make certain appointments....211, 212
Kaskaskia and Shawneetown, important towns in.... 192
Legislature meets at Kaskaskia.... 188
McLean, (John) appointed Judge of the eastern circuit of, see foot note.... 192
mention.... 198
organization of.... 20
slaves in when it was ceded to the U. S. in 1784.... 99
Stephenson, (Benj.) territorial delegate to U. S. Congress, extracts from letter of, on bills passed for the territory.... 180
toasts drank to, on the naming of Monroe Co., Ill.... 183
under the rule of the Frenchman, the Britian, the Virginian, mention. 20
Illinoistown—mention.... 154
India Company—land grants of, in the Illinois Country.... 107
successor to the "Company of the West," patent and privileges of, pass to Louis XV.... 107
Indianapolis—State Historical Society at, mention.... 5
Indian—allies of England in war 1812, mention.... 95
allies of the French won over to the British.... 109
annual hunt described.... 159
furnaces or smelters described.... 34
trails, mention.... 99
trade on the Ohio River, mention.... 277
Indian Wars—McLean (John) military record in....192, 201
Indiana—Lumber hauled from for buildings erected by Philo Carpenter, in Chicago, 1833 241
Posey (Gen. Thomas) territorial Governor of, mention.... 198
post route in.... 188
Prairie du Chien within the northern limits of.... 183
records, consulted; see foot note.... 190
records, quoted; see foot note.... 192
represented in legislative chamber for the first time.... 20
mention.... 180
State Historical Society of, mention.... 1, 5
Indiana Territory—creation of.... 20
mention.... 50
people of, determined to go into the Union as an independent State, naming of.... 183
Posey (Gen. Thomas) Governor of, mention.... 198

Index—Continued.

Page

Indians—Cerré (Jean Gabriel) trader with, mention ... 277
chiefs of 11 tribes take part in treaty of Greenville, relinquish lands near Ft. Massac ... 49
conference at Alton, Ill., mention ... 180
cultivation of maize by, uses of, etc ... 162
deep interest felt in by readers of the Western Intelligencer, mention ... 180
Dickinson's Indians, mention ... 183
enslaving of, in the Illinois country ... 107
Seneca, method of gathering up crude oil, mention ... 251
mention ... 106, 119, 275, 281, 283
of the Ohio country, the English trade with ... 40
on the Missouri river, mention ... 111
place thank offering in high rock above the source of the Sangamon river ... 116
Smith (Brigadier General) treatment of ... 184, 185
(southern) at Ft. Massac, first heard the gospel preached ... 39
southwestern tribes, rising of, mention ... 49
treaty of peace between U. S. and Sioux Indians, mention ... 182
Winnebagoes, treaty of peace with the U. S ... 183
Illuminants—of an early day in Chicago, mention ... 250
Ines, Joseph—English druggist, member of committee to collect money to aid in equipping Chicago College of Pharmacy after fire of 1871 ... 258
Ingersoll, Eben—Illinois lawyer, and Congressman, brother of Robert G. Ingersoll, mention ... 219
Ingersoll, Robert Green—Attorney General of Illinois, 1867, sketch of later career ... 219
in convention nominated Jas. G. Blaine for the Presidency ... 219
Inscription on vault of John McLean at Shawneetown, Ill ... 198
Iowa Department of History—mention ... 7
Irby, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 171
Ireland—mention ... 212, 219
Iron ore—mention ... 36
Iroquois Indians—allies of English ... 41
Iroquois County, Ill.—mention ... 208
Irwin, Harriet—wife of Thos. Sloo, Jr ... 202
Isaac, John—under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 171
"Ise la Cache" (in the River Desplaines)—mention ... 277
Israel, S. G.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire 1871 ... 255
Italy—druggists of send money to aid of Chicago druggists after Chicago fire of 1871 ... 258
Jackson, Gen. Andrew—his victory at New Orleans, mention ... 62
Illinois gives two electoral votes for, mention ... 195
mention ... 11, 196, 199, 201
victory at New Orleans, celebration of, mention ... 114
Jackson Men—Edwards, Hubbard, Sloo, all professed Jackson men, mention ... 205
Jackson Party—supports Thomas Sloo, Jr., for Governor of Illinois ... 204
Jacksonville and Springfield—railroad, mention ... 67
Jacksonville, Ill.—annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society held in ... 7
Jacksonville—opposite St. Louis, mention ... 154
Jacobins (French)—mention ... 48
James, Abraham—in Capt. Jos Bowman's company when enlisted, when discharged miles to go home, rations due ... 177
James, E. J.—appointed on committee of Illinois State Historical Society to confer with Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition ... 5
James, Edmund J.—member board trustees Ill. State Hist. Library, signs biennial report 301
member of board of directors Ill. State Hist. Soc. for 1903 ... 4
report of the committee appointed to attend the installation of ... 1–2
James, Edmund J.—submits plans of the Illinois State Historical Society to Illinois Commissioners of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition ... 5
Jamestown—ferry at, mention ... 165
Jamieson, Thomas—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 171
Jardins, Andrew Thomas de—mention ... 136–137
Jarman, Mrs. L. A.—owns Lincoln relic ... 230
Jarrell, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 171
Jarrott, Mr.—A. Frenchman, description of his mill ... 155
Jayne, Dr. Gershom, of Springfield, Ill.—canal commissioner of Illinois ... 235
Jayne, Hon. William—member committee of Illinois State Historical Society to mark historic spots in Illinois, mention ... 292
Wm.—makes suggestion in committee for marking historic spots in Illinois ... 292
seconds motion that memorial addresses be accepted and made a part of records of Illinois State Historical Society ... 2
mention ... 1, 4, 5
Mrs. Wm. S.—mention ... 10
Jefferson Co., Ill.—mention ... 203, 208
Jefferson, Thomas—chairman of committee to draft ordinance for N. W. Territory ... 88
confidential adviser of Gov. Patrick Henry ... 38
correspondence with Edward Coles on the slavery question, mention 98
Edward Coles, a protegé of ... 98
foresight of relating to importance of Clark's expedition ... 38, 39
influence of, claimed to elect Edward Coles, Governor of Illinois ... 99
Isaac Coles, private secretary to ... 98
Kentucky and Virginia resolution inspired and probably actually written by ... 11

Index—Continued.

Page

Jefferson, Thomas—mention....18, 102, 103
proposes a plan to the continental congress for government of the territories.... 19
Jenkins & Lovell—successors to Jenkins & Thomas, general store, Chicago.... 265
& Thomas—general store in Chicago.... 265
Jenkins, Thomas — forms partnership in general store with Frederick Thomas.... 265
Jersey Co., Ill.—Historical Society reported from.... 8
Jess, Mrs. Robert—Thanks of the society extended to, for music at meeting.... 9
Jesuit Building—at Kaskaskia occupied as Fort Gage....177, 178
Jesuit Missionaries—their labors, mention.... 41
Jesuits—build church of St. Anne de Fort Chartres, mention.... 106
mission of, at Kaskaskia, mention.... 107
Jewell, Charles—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Jewell, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Jewett, John M.—president Chicago Historical Society.... 4
J. F. S.—initials of Dr. J. F. Snyder, introduction and foot notes to Ernst's Travels in Illinois....150, 154, 159, 160
(Dr. J. F. Snyder) signs explanatory, foot notes....176, 177, 178, 210, 275
J. G. S.—(Julia Green Scott) signs, foot note.... 58
J. H. B.—(Capt. J. H. Burnham) signs explanatory, foot notes.... 185
Jo Daviess County, Ill.—gave Gen. Grant to the nation.... 91
its importance in the State.... 31
John McLean connected with the naming of.... 196
mines in, comparative cheapness of developing....36, 37
money value of lead ore produced in, statistics.... 34
named for Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess of Kentucky, mention. 196
resources of....31-37
the mines of, address by Hon. Wm. Spensley....131-137
John the Baptist—mention.... 101
Johnson, Marie Francis—wife of Dr. John Bridges Johnson and daughter of Thos. Sloo.. 205
Johnson, Capt. Matthew—English commandant in the Illinois country, 1775-1781.... 47
Johnson, Edward—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Johnston, Edward—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Johnston, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Johnston, Samuel—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Joines, John—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 171
Joliet—druggist of (A. W. Bowen) sends order to Peter Pruyne & Co.... 261
Joliet, Louis—explorer.... 16
Joncaire, de—emissary of the French, visits the Ohio country....43, 44
Joneast, Lieut. Antyear—in Capt. Francois Charloville's Co, Ill. Vols., Clark's army.... 176
Joneast, Baptiste—ensign in Capt. Francois Charloville's Co. of Vols., Clark's army.... 176
Jones & Torrey—dealers in druggists' sundries, Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871.... 255
Jones, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 171
Jones, Edward—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 171
Jones (Miss), Emma F.—mention.... 10
Jones, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 171
Jones (or Johnus), Mat—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 171
Jones, Michael—official advertisement in the Western Intelligencer, of interest to settlers and pre-emptors.... 183
register of the land office at Kaskaskia, mention.... 183
register of the United States land office.... 180
Jones, William—rents wooden building to LeRoy M. Boyce for drug store.... 266
Jonesboro, Ill.—mention.... 290
Joseph, a Negro—baptism of child of, in the parish of St. Anne's....138-139
Joubert, Anselm—burial of infant of, at Prairie du Rocher....128-129
Jour de L'an (New Year's Day)—mention.... 278
Journal of Benjamin Van Cleve—1794....63-64
Journal of Geo. Rogers Clark—extracts from....279, 280, 281
Juchereau, de St. Denis—a trader at Fort Massac.... 39
applies for authority to establish colony on Mississippi river..57, 58
death of....43, 58
description of, in license.... 42
expedition of, his influential friends and privileges....41-42
mention.... 44
Juliet, Ill.—Joliet formerly sometimes so called.... 261
"Justitia"—reply to the "Foe to Religious Tyrany" in the Western Intelligencer.... 188
Kahokia, Ill—mention....86, 279
Kain, John—native of Virginia, accompanies the Slade brothers to Illinois.... 207
Kane, Hon. C. P.—mention.... 9
Kane Mrs. Charles P.—mention.... 10
Kane, Elias Kent—ablest and most uncompromising leader of the slavery party.... 203
death of.... 22
delivers eulogy on John McLean in the U. S. Senate, Dec. 9, 1830.... 27
elected U. S. Senator on joint ballot of the Illinois Legislature Nov. 3, 1824.... 203
first Secretary of State of the State of Illinois....22, 23
mention.... 215
representative in territorial convention.... 21
Kane's chemistry.... 246
Kanhawa Salt—large quantities brought to Illinois for sale, mention.... 185

Index—Continued.

Page

Kankakee River—interpreter of the American Fur Co. at, rate of pay ... 119
mention ... 164
Kansas—agitation in over slavery ... 89, 212
free soilers, mention ... 219
mention ... 210
Kansas City—mention ... 123
Kansas—Nebraska Bill (The) passage of ... 218
—Nebraska slavery agitation ... 230, 231
Kaskaskia, Ill.—account of capture by G. R. Clark ... 177, 178
British commandant at, surprised by G. R. Clark ... 18
capture of by G. R. Clark ... 18, 38, 58, 88, 177, 178, 289
Cerré (Jean Gabriel) established there in 1755 ... 276
Cerré (Jean Gabriel) influential citizen of ... 275
Cerré (Jean Gabriel) judge of the Court of the district of Kaskaskia, foot note ... 275
Charlevoix (Father Xavier de) visits ... 107
church records, mention ... 288
Clark reaches (July 4, 1778) mention ... 18
commons at, how divided and used, description ... 153
conquest of, mention ... 38
convention called at to form constitution for the proposed State of Illinois ... 21
Cox, (Thomas,) tavern keeper at, mention ... 185, 186
Kaskaskia, Ill.—distance from Fort Massac ... 45
education in; editorial on, in the "Western Intelligencer" of 1816 ... 188
first newspaper founded in, in 1815 ... 119, 179
French at ... 87
French established first milita post in ... 106
Garrison established at ... 18
Illinois appropriates money for removing the remains of the early settlers to high ground; erects a monument ... 289, 290
Indians ... 107
Jones (Michael) register of the land office at ... 183
Judges for the Court of the district of, elected ... 282
LaFayette visits ... 102
Local news item printed in the "Western Intelligencer" ... 188
mission of, mention ... 41
no advertisement or intimation that Kaskaskia had a dry goods store, yet "Western Intelligencer" in 1816 contains advertisement of a young man seeking a position as a clerk in a dry goods store ... 187
no local news of, in issue of the "Western Intellingencer," mention ... 180
road to, from Massac ... 39, 47
seat of British authority ... 113
seat of government to remain at ... 23
settlement described, society in, etc ... 152
mention ... 20, 22, 41, 42, 61, 89, 115, 150, 153, 177, 182, 211, 212, 213, 216, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 288, 294
Shawneetown, commercial and political rival of Kaskaskia, mention ... 192
Stephenson, (Hon. Benjamin) writes friend at, concerning bills passed in Congress relative to Illinois ... 180
surrender of, occurred before the surrender of Yorktown, mention ... 289
Territorial Legislature met at, Dec. 2, 1816 ... 188
Kaskaskia River—advertisement to start new ferry on, mention ... 182
Hill (John) establishes ferry across ... 207
mention ... 152, 163
Kaskasquias—mention ... 281
Keen, Wm B. & Co.—test of the first gas used as an illuminant in the store of ... 250
Keenan, John J.—druggist of Chicago, 1835, advertisement of ... 243
Kellar, Abraham—2d lieutenant in Bowman's company, date of enlistment, discharge, mileage and pay for services ... 177
Keller, Capt. Abraham—captain in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services 166
Keller, Isaac—sergeant under Clark, receives land for services ... 171
Kemp, Reuben—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services ... 172
Kendall County, Ill.—Historical Society reported from ... 8
historic spot in Kendall county marked by John F. Steward ... 290
Kendall, William—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services ... 171
Kennedy, David—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services ... 171
Kennison, "Father"—last survivor of the Boston tea party, grave of in Chicago unmarked 291
Kentucky—first settlement of Illinois largely from ... 76
Governor of declines to interfere with plans to invade Spanish possessions ... 46
Indian troubles in, mention ... 281
mention ... 76, 196, 198, 212, 218, 276
vote of cast for John Quincy Adams for President, mention ... 195
Kentucky Negro—reward offered for capture of ... 185
Kentucky Resolutions—inspired and probably written by Thomas Jefferson ... 11
Kentucky Statutes—first Criminal Code of Illinois adapted from ... 214
Kerlerec, Gov. Louis de—grants license to the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co. to trade with the Indians on the Missouri river ... 111
imprisoned in the Bastile, Paris ... 110
provincial executive of Louisiana ... 110
Kerney, Capt. John—captain in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services 166

Index—Continued.

Page

Kerr, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Key, George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Key, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Kickapoo Indian Capital—mention..... 161
Kickapoo Indians—description of..... 157
in camp, treaty made with United States at Edwardsville, Ill., mention 157
mention.....42, 162, 279
Kickapoo River—mention..... 164
Kickapoo Town—mention..... 161
Kidd, Robert—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Kimball & Porter—dry goods merchants of Chicago, mention..... 263
Kimberly, Dr. Edward S. (E. S.)—after death of Peter Pruyne removes drug store to Tremont building, Chicago..... 263
county clerk of Cook county..... 261
of firm of Peter Pruyne & Co., his connection with the firm and sketch of his career, success of the business, etc.....260–263
furnishes capital for drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co. 243
invoice of goods, 1837, in handwriting of, list of goods, proprietary medicines, etc.....261, 262
member of the first board of health of Chicago, mention.....243, 261
mention.....243, 249
one of the founders of Rush Medical College..... 245
secretary of the meeting held in drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co. on the incorporation of Chicago as a town..... 243
Kina, Christopher—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Kincaid, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Kincaid, Joseph—ensign in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services.... 167
King, George—soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another. *See* foot note..... 177
of Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, mileage, pay..... 177
private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
King, Nicholas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 171
Kinley, Capt. Benjamin—captain in Ill. Regt. Vols. under Clark, receives land for services 166
Kinney, Wm—member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society, to assist in collecting data of Illinois..... 14
Kinzie—homestead at Chicago, location of..... 235
Kinzie, James—built small log house in Chicago, afterwards occupied by Philo Carpenter as first drug store in Chicago.....236, 259
Kinzie, John—member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society, to assist in collecting data of Illinois..... 14
Kirby, Julia Duncan—author of "Life of Joseph Duncan," reference to, mention, foot note..... 77
Kirk, Thomas—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services..... 171
Kirkley, James—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services..... 171
Kirkpatrick, A.—of Shawneetown, mention..... 54
Kitchell, Wickliff—Attorney General of Illinois 1839, sketch.....217, 218
Knapp, Doctor—mention..... 249
Knight, Henry—clerk in drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co..... 263
Knights of the Golden Circle—mention..... 93
Knoelcke, A. C.—retail druggist of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.—place of holding Lincoln-Douglas debates at Galesburg, suitably marked by..... 290
Knox County, Ind.—mention..... 209
Knox County, Ohio—mention..... 220
Knox County, Tenn.—mention..... 211
Köerner, Gustavus—reference to his book "Das Deutsche Element", foot note..... 83
representative Illinois German citizen..... 83
L'Anse-a-la-graisse—a trading house founded at, by the Lesueurs for Gabriel Cerré, place now New Madrid..... 283
Labaume, Mr.—owned land adjoining land petitioned for by Gabriel Cerré..... 284
LaBell, Charles—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
La Belle Riviere (Ohio)—mention..... 51
Labuxiere—property in St. Louis granted to, by St. Ange; the first formal grant in St. Louis..... 283
LaCasse, Jacque—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
Lackhouse, Nicholas—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols.; entitled to land for services..... 176
LaCroix, Agnes—mention.....128, 129
Ladd, Mr.—clerk in drug store of Philo Carpenter in Chicago..... 260
"LaDuchesse de Noailles"—French frigate arrives at Ship Island..... 105
L'Epignay, M.—Governor and commandant general of the province of Louisiana.....105, 106
LaFaro, Francis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
Lafarton, Francis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
LaFayette County, Wis.—mention..... 37

Index—Continued.

Page

LaFayette, Gen. G. M. etc.--notice, etc., ball given for, at the house of Pierre Menard, 102
entertained at Shawneetown in the home of General Rawlings. 102
entertained at the home of Colonel Edgar 102
mention 104
tour of the United States, mention 102
visits Kaskaskia 102
Lafernne, M. de--Godfather at baptism of slaves belonging to Madame St. Ange 132, 133
Laflour, Pierre—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Lafonn, John--private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
LaHarpe, B.—gives date of establishment of fort on site of Fort Massac, mention 41
LaHontan, Baron de—quotation from writings of 42, 57
Lake Creek in Illinois—mention 159
Lake Erie—mention 62, 162
"Lake Front Suits"—instituted by the State of Illinois, James McCartney Attorney General 219
Lake Maurepas--mention 106
Lake Michigan--Illinois frontage on, secured by action in Congress of Nathaniel Pope.. 75
mention 90, 120, 162, 164, 237
Lake Peoria—formed from Illinois river, mention 164
mention 161
Lake Pontchartrain—mention 106
Laman (Lamon) Ward H.—signs certificate as to character of Elias T. Turney 225
Lamarch, Beauvard--private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Lamarch, J. B.—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Lamarch, Lewis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Lamborn, Josiah—Attorney General of Illinois 1840, sketch and anecdote of 218
LaMontague—name given Anthony Zibert 140, 141
LaMothe, M. Cadillac de—commandant at Detroit 58
LaMothe Cadillac—Governor of Louisiana, mention 43
Lanbran—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Land Grants—by Congress, terms of, etc., mention 68
Maxwell land grant of the west, mention 186
Renault grant, mention, see foot note 181
to soldiers of the Illinois Vol. Reg. under G. R. Clark, list of names and allotment of lands 166-178
Laney, Perde—private soldier Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols.; entitled to land for services. 176
Lange, Oscar C.—said to have been first Swedish settler in Chicago, clerk for Peter Pruyne & Co 263
Langlois—nephew of Boisbriant, mention 107
Larned, E. C.—assignee of the drug business of Clarke & Co 263
Laroche, Joseph—godfather of child of James Silam 145
Larose, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Larrabee, Lucius S.—mention 251
LaSalle County, Ill.—mention 219, 220
northern boundary of proposed State of Illinois until altered by influence of Judge Pope 90
LaSalle, Robert Sieur de—expedition of 16
mention 106
takes formal possession of the Louisiana country 17
La Seur (a Frenchman)—discovers lead mines in territory now JoDaviess county, Ill... 31, 32
Lasley, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Lasoint, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
La Paint, Louis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Latham, Mr. Richard(?)—farmer, mention 161
Latin Races—not successful as colonists 87
Laughlin, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services, mention 172
Laurent, N.—missionary priest, mention 136, 137
Lavan, Anthony—private soldier, Capt. Charloville's Co. Vol., entitled to land for services 176
Levea—private soldier, Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols., entitled to land for services 176
Laventure, J.—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
La Verendrye Brothers—return from journey of discovery of the Rocky Mountains, mention 276
Lavigne, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Laviolette, Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Laviolette, Louis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Law, John—organizer of the Company of the West or Mississippi Company, mention 105
Lawson, Iver—pioneer Norwegian of Chicago 249
Lawson, Surgeon General Thomas—member of board of army officers which recommended Fort Massac for U. S. Armory 51
Lawyers of Illinois—old note books of diaries, etc 120
Lead Fields of Galena—No great rush to, until after July 1, 1825 120
number of miners in 1743; wages paid, etc 120
number of miners from July 1, 1825, to Aug. 31, 1826 120, 121
play important part in the development of Illinois 120
Lead Mine—advertisements in the Western Intelligencer, 1816 181
Lead Mines of Jo Daviess Co.—method of working described 31-37
Lead Mines of the United States—leasing of, mention 181
Lead Ore—description of mining for 31-37
Leavenworth (B. H) & Co.—retail druggists in Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Leavenworth, Kas.—mention 219
Lebanon, Ohio—mention 216

Index—Continued.

Page

Lechford, Thomas—note book of..... 120
Lee, Arthur—mention..... 18
Lee, Ludwell—mention..... 205
Lee, Richard Henry—of Virginia, mention..... 205
Lee, Mary Ann—wife of Robert Blair Campbell..... 205
Lee, Zebeniah—deserted Jan. 28, Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co..... 177
Lefernne—Francis, negro slave of, mention.....138, 139
Legislature of Illinois—session of 1871-72, had been expected to hold session in Chicago, plans changed by Chicago fire..... 253
extends invitation to General LaFayette, provides for entertainment of..... 102
Legueder, Jane—wife of Anthony Zibert, child of, baptised.....146, 147
Lejeune, Michael—baptism of child of, in the parish of St. Anne's.....140, 141
burial of infant of, at Prairie du Rocher.....128, 129
child of, Michael Lejeune and Magdalen Hennet, baptised in the parish of St. Anne's.....140, 141
Leland Hotel, Springfield, Ill.—Illinois Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition hold meeting at..... 5
Lemen, James—member of standing committee to assist in collecting data of Illinois.... 14
Lemos (Manuel Gayoso de Lemos) his high regard for Cerré, mention, see Gayoso..... 285
Leney, John—gunner under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 172
gunner in Clark's army; entitled to land for services..... 172
l' Enfant, Francis—private soldier under Clark; received land for services..... 172
Leonard, Mr.—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce. Chicago, mention.....269, 271
L'Esperance—name given Anthony Maguim, mention.....130-131
Lessart, Catherine de—mention.....132-133
Lesueur, Francois—with his brother Joseph goes to St. Louis, employed by Gabriel Cerré, founds New Madrid..... 282
Lesueur, Godfrey (son of Francois)—narrative of his father's travels, etc..... 282
Lesueur, Joseph—brother of Francois Lesueur, one of the founders of New Madrid..... 282
Lesueurs (The)—establish trading house for Cerré, at place called L'Anse-la-Graisse... 283
Letourneaux, T. J.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Letter—John M. Eddy to J. H. Burnham..... 200
Letter—Stephenson, Hon. Benjamin—territorial delegate to Congress, writes friend at Kaskaskia on bills passed for Illinois Territory. 180
Letters—Barger, (J. B.,) to Capt. J. H. Burnham on John McLean..... 199
Letter—McClernand, Gen. John A., on John McLean.....198-199
Letter—Walker, J. D.—letter of to J. H. Burnham on John McLean, dated Fayetteville, Ark., Dec. 10, 1898.....200-201
Letter of travel through Louisiana, dated "at the Illinois, 15th May, 1753, by Captain Bossu," quoted..... 110
"Letters from Illinois"—by Morris Birkbeck in opinion of F. Ernst, not reliable..... 150
Leviston, George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lewis, Benjamin (killed)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lewis, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lewistown, Ill. (Lewiston)—newspapers, mention..... 229
"Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest"—by T.C.Smith; reference to, foot note 81
Liette, Sieur de—French commandant in the Illinois country, 1726-1730..... 46
succeeds Boisbriant as commandant in the Illinois country..... 108
Liguest, Pierre Laclede—establishes trading post on the present site of the city of St. Louis..... 111
Lilies (The) of France—mention..... 39
Limestone, Ky.—Thomas Sloo builds the first house in, mention..... 202
Lincoln, A. (Abraham)—signs license of applicants for admission to Illinois bar..... 225
account of his various visits to Rushville, Ill., 1832-1858.....221-223
building formerly law office of, in Springfield, should be marked..... 292
debates between Lincoln and Douglas, mention..... 193
extracts from his speech at Rushville, Ill., Oct. 20, 1858.....230, 231
familiar with life and labors of Edward Coles..... 101
Lincoln Abraham—first saw a lightning rod on residence of Geo. Forquer..... 215
his protest against resolutions condeming anti-slavery legislation... 77
Illinois, Lincoln the man of its ideals..... 11
in Black Hawk War..... 222
in General Assembly of Illinois makes friends among representatives from Schuyler Co.....223-224
letter to Jonathan G. Randall of Rushville..... 226
mention.....11, 98, 99, 104, 217, 294
monument to, erected by the State of Illinois, mention..... 290
Northern Illinois counties help to bring him into prominence..... 91
reference to..... 30
signs certificate as to character of Elias T. Turney..... 225
striking example of man of southern birth and anti-slavery principles..... 83
visit to Rushville, account of the visit.....228, 229, 230, 231, 232
vote received by him, in St. Clair Co. Ills. for president..... 83
wigwam in Chicago where he was nominated, historic spot in Illinois, marking of, etc..... 291
works of, edited by Nicolay and Hay, foot-note..... 77
campaign of 1858, its features and results.....228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233

Index—Continued.

Page

Lincoln & Douglas—campaign of 1858, mention 225
Lincoln & Douglas Debate—Galesburg, Ill., historic spot, marked 290
Lincoln & Douglas Debates—Freeport, Ill., historic spot, marked by Women's Club 290
marking of places of holding same 290
mention 222
Lincoln in Rushville 1832-1858; paper—contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society by Howard F. Dyson 221-233
Lincoln, Neb.—mention 225
Lincoln, Park—Chicago, mention 291
Linder, Usher F.—admits having prejudice against Ninian W. Edwards 216
Attorney General of Illinois, 1837, sketch of 217
"Linder's Reminiscences"—quotations from 217
Lind's Block—on west side of Market st. between Randolph and Lake sts., only business block in region of fire which escaped in Chicago fire of 1871, mention 256, 257
Lisbon, Kendall County, Ill.—mention 219
Literary Sessions—Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Jan. 28 1903 9
Little Corporal Mine—JoDaviess Co., Ill., mention 36
Little, Mrs. Helen M. J.—named on committee for marking historic spots in Illinois 9
Little Meadows, Pa.—Villiers (Jumonville de), killed at, mention 111
Little Wabash River—mention 150, 152
Liverpool—sends aid to Chicago after fire of 1871 254
Livingston, Edward—American diplomat, largely instrumental in making La. purchase 94, 95
remark make by, on completion of negotiation for the purchase of Louisiana 95
Liviston, George—In Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged 177
Lockhart, Archibald—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Local Historical Societies—report of committee on 8-9
report of committee on, read by J. H. Burnham at executive meeting 1
Lockert (or Locket), private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Lockport, Ill.—branch drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co. at 263
Lockwood, Samuel Drake—Attorney General of Illinois, 1821, sketch of 213, 214
first compiler of the Criminal Code of Illinois 214
Henry Ward Beecher's tribute to 103
member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society 13
presiding officer at second meeting of early Illinois State Historical Society 14
resigns as Secretary of State to do effective work for anti-slavery party 101
Loda, Wis.—mention 273
Logan, Hugh—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Logan County, Ill.—Historical Society reported from 8
Logan County, Ky.—McLean (John) emigrates from to Shawneetown 192
mention 191, 200, 201
Logan, John A.—his influence in holding Illinois for the Union 83
Logan, Judge Stephen T.—mention 218
Log Furnaces or Smelters—described 34
Loissel—death of slave belonging to child of, mention 142, 143
London, England—attempts to sell Illinois State bonds in 68, 69
London Dispensatory—mention 246
London—mention 95, 112
pharmacopoeias 245
sends aid to Chicago after fire of 1871 254
"Long Nine" (The)—in Illinois Legislature of which Lincoln was one, mention 216
Long, Philip—in Captain Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Long, Lieut, S. H.—of the U. S. Topographical Corps, one of the board of army officers which recommended Fort Massac for site of U. S. Armory 51
Long, William—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Longlois, August—death of child of, mention 142, 143
slave belonging to; death and burial of 148, 149
Longlois, Marie Jochim—wife of Louis de populus 134, 135
Lord, Capt. Hugh—English commandant in the Illinois country, 1771 47
successor of Col. Wilkins at Fort Chartres 113
Lord, James—mention 187
Lord, Margaret—mention, Western Intelligencer in 1816, of her attempt to secure a divorce from James Lord 187
Lord, Smith & Co.—wholesale druggists of Chicago, amount of annual business, loss by fire, insurance 256
wholesale druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Lord, Thomas—Chicago druggist 271
Lorette, Anthony—Godfather at baptism of child of St. Anne's parish 136, 137
Lorette, Marie Joseph—wife of Andrew Thomas des Jardins 136, 137
Lorimier, Mr.—mention 285
Louisa, (Negress)—Godmother at baptism of child of slave in parish of St. Anne's ... 138, 139
Louisbourg—capture of, mention 87
Louis XVIII, King of France—mention 102

Index—Continued.

Page

Louis XV, King of France—patents and privileges of the India company, reverted to.... 108
mention 41, 44, 45, 276
mention, foot note..... 95
Louis XIV, King of France—grants concessions to Anthony Crozat..... 43
grants land and mines to Crozat..... 31
Louisiana given that name in his honor..... 40
mention 17
Louis, Prairie—mention..... 282
Louisiana—Boisbriant (Pierre Duqué de) acting governor of..... 107
ceded to England by treaty of Paris..... 46
Crozat granted by Louis XIV a monopoly of trade in..... 48
French ships and men arrive at Dauphin Island..... 105
Gayarre's history of Louisiana, quoted, see foot note..... 110
Illinois country under the establishment of the governor of..... 17
Illinois formed a part of province of, mention..... 105
its dimensions..... 43
Kerlerec, (Louis de) provincial executive of..... 110
Louisiana Country—LaSalle takes formal possession..... 17
Louisiana—mention.....48, 113
mines of granted to Crozat by King of France..... 31
Louisiana, Mo.—proposed early railroad to, from Decatur, Ill..... 66
Louisiana, Province of—Le Moyne de Bienville governor and commandant general of.105-106
Bienville recalled from..... 109
Bienville resumes governorship of 1734..... 108
Boisbriant (Pierre Duqué de) commissioned first King's lieutenant of..... 105
Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal appointed governor of..... 109
Diron D'Artaguette holds position in..... 108
India company's, patents, privileges in, reverts to Louis XV, King of France..... 108
L'Epignay governor and commandant general of.. 106
new government formed for..... 108
separated from Canada..... 10
Louisiana Purchase—decisive event in the development of Illinois.....94, 95, 96
its influence on the development of Illinois.....94, 95, 96
Louisiana Purchase Exposition—mention..... 4
education committee of the Ill. State commission to. 5
extra appropriation by the State of Ill. to; uses of.... 5
exposition at St. Louis, mention..... 1
exposition committee, report of..... 5-7
decoration committee of Illinois building at, mention 6
Illinois building, suggestions as to decoration of..... 5
mention 4, 293
Louisiana—regiment of, mention..... 284
Spanish possessions in, mention..... 40
state of, Posey (Gen. Thos.) United States Senator from, mention..... 198
territory of exchanged by Spain to France, for kingdom of Etruria; France in turn sells it to the United States 94, 95, 96
upper, mention 284
Louisville, Ky.—distance from Fort Massac..... 53
mention 215, 217, 265
Louvier, J. Boulogne de—wife of M. Louvier, signs church record as godmother.....148, 149
Lovejoy, Elijah P,—assassination of, mention..... 92
martyr to the great cause of human liberty..... 11
mention 104
monument to, erected at Alton, Ills., mention..... 290
murder of, at Alton, mention..... 77
Lovejoy, Owen—Ills. Congressman, mention..... 80
Lowell, James Russell—quotations from anti-slavery writings of..... 78
Lowell Richard—drummer under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lunsford, Anthony—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lunsford George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lunsford Mason—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lurton & Harris—wholesale druggists Chicago, 1850..... 251
Lusk, Levi—chief marshal of the day on occasion of Lincoln's visit to Rushville..... 229
Luzader, Abraham—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lycurgus—law giver of antiquity, mention 18
Lyon, Jacob—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lyon, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Lyons, Iowa—city of, mention..... 260
Lyman's (Capt.)—company of 1st Regt. of Infantry, stationed at Fort Massac..... 61
McBride, Isaac—Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co.. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
Macarty, Chevalier de—commands at Ft. Chartres.....109, 111
French commandant in the Ills, country, 1751-1760..... 46
places Chaouanon Indians near Ft. Massac; his reasons for so doing 46
repairs Ft. Massac..... 46
McCarty, Capt. Richard—Ills. Regt. Vols. Clark's army, received land for services..... 166
McCartney Jas.—Attorney General of Ills. 1881, sketch of..... 219

Index—Continued.

Page.

McCarty, Capt. Richard—company (military) of..... 178
M'Clain, Thos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McClanihan, Robert—deserted from Capt. Jos. Bowman's company 177
McClenahan, Josiah—of Wine Shibboleth, Washington county, state not named, probably Missouri..... 182
McClernand, Gen. John A.—extracts from letter of, on John McLean.....198-199
mention..... 217
McClernand, Mrs. John A.—mention..... 10
McClock, Charles—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's company, on pay-roll of..... 177
McClure, Patrick—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McClure's Tavern—place of meeting in Harrisonville, when Monroe Co. was named, etc.. 183
McCulloch, David—absence of, from meeting Historical Society..... 2
member of board of directors Ill State Historical Society for 1903.... 4
resolutions of sympathy for..... 2, 3
McCulloch, Mary Hemphill—wife of David McCulloch, expression of sympathy on death of 3
McCulley & Co.—glass and bottle manufacturers, Pittsburg, Pa.....268, 269
McDaniel, Thos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McDonald, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McDonald, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McDonald, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McDermott, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
McDougall, James Allen—Attorney General of Ill., 1843, sketch of, his later career, etc..... 218
McGann, John—gunner with Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
McGarock, Hugh—ensign in Ill. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
McGuire, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
McGumrey, Wm.—Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, rations due 177
McIntire, Alexander—Capt. Jos. Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
McIntosh—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
McKees Creek—mention..... 164
McKendree College—mention..... 150
McKenzie, Hon. John—member Illinois State Senate from Jo Daviess Co., president *pro tempore* of Senate, 1903, mention..... 31
McKin, James—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 173
Mackinac—American Fur Co., in..... 119
captured by British in war of 1812..... 95
Mackinaw, Ill.—proposed early railroad to..... 66
Mackinaw, Mich —mention..... 39
Mackinaw River—mention..... 164
McKinney, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 173
McLean, Chas.—grandfather of John McLean, was major in the American Army, in the revolutionary war..... 201
McLean County, Ill.—contributes to fund for tablet to John McLean..... 190
mention 182, 195
named for John McLean, through Hon. Wm. L. D. Ewing's influence in the legislature..... 197
McLean County Court House—tablet to John McLean recently placed in..... 190
McLean County—Judge Wm. Hendricks of Indiana, to have been honored by having County of McLean named for him..... 199
McLean County and McLeansboro—relation between..... 192
McLean County County Board of Supervisors—mention..... 190
McLean County Historical Society—contributes fund for tablet to John McLean..... 190
Geo. P. Davis president of..... 190
memorial to John McLean read by J. H. Burnham... 190
mention 200, 201
report from..... 8
McLean, Ephriam—father of John McLean..... 201
minister in the Cumberland Presbyterian church..... 201
McLean, (Ephriam) and Elizabeth Byert—parents of John McLean, married in 1788..... 201
McLean, John—ability as a lawyer and statesman shown in revision of laws of 1827..... 196
ablest and most uncompromising leader of the slavery party..... 203
admitted to the territorial bar in 1816, see foot note..... 192
appointed judge of the eastern circuit of the Illinois territory, declines, see foot note..... 192
article on, by J. H. Burnham, re-written for transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society and contributed to, papers on "Forgotten statesman of Illinois."..... 190-201
born in North Carolina Feb. 4, 1791..... 191
Congressman and U. S. Senator, mention..... 182
connection of with the naming of JoDaviess county, Ill., mention..... 196
county seat of Hamilton county named McLeanboro, mention..... 192
death of at Shawneetown, Oct. 14, 1830, mention..... 197
debates between McLean and Cook on the slavery question in 1818, mention..... 193
defeated for Congress by D. P. Cook..... 193
defeats D. P. Cook for member of Congress from Illinois..... 213
Eddy (John M.), information from newspaper files of, on John McLean..... 200
education of..... 199

Index—Continued.

Page

McLean, John—elected to Congress term of December, 1818, to March, 1819 ... 193
elected to the Legislature from Gallatin county, serves two terms ... 196
elected to the U. S. Senate for the term of six years, on Dec. 6, 1829 ... 196
elected U. S. Senator, serves from Dec. 20, 1824, to March 3, 1825 ... 195
emigrates from Logan county, Ky., to Shawneetown, Ill ... 192
McClernand (Gen. J. A.), extracts from letter on ... 198-199
inscription on monument marking grave of, at Shawneetown ... 198
Kane (Elias Kent), eulogy on John McLean in the U. S. Senate, Dec. 9, 1830 197
lawyer, statesman ... 193-194
letter of J. D. Walker on John McLean ... 200-201
letters on, etc., to J. H. Burnham ... 199-201
letter to Shawneetown paper "The Illinois Gazette" on the election of John Quincy Adams to the presidency ... 195
McLean county, Ill., named for through the influence of Hon. Wm. L. D. Ewing in the Legislature ... 182, 191, 197
member of committee in charge of bank project ... 182
memorial tablet, cost of, description of, placing of in McLean County Court House, Bloomington, Ill ... 190
military record in the "Indian Wars," see foot note ... 192
practices law in Shawneetown after return from Congress in 1819 ... 193
pro-slavery man, mention ... 192
resigns position of Speaker of the House, makes strong protest against bill to incorporate State bank ... 194
resemblance of to Chas. Fox, mention ... 193
Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois ... 21, 22
Reynold's description of ... 197
settles in Shawneetown, 1815 ... 192
Speaker of the House of Representative of Illinois for three terms ... 196
Speaker of the Second General Assembly of the Illinois State Legislature ... 193
slavery contest of 1824, McLean on the pro-slavery side ... 194
studies law with Judge McLean of Greenville, Ky., mention ... 201
McLean, Judge of Greenville, Ky.—John McLean studies law with ... 201
McLean Memorial tablet—dedicatory exercises attending placing of in McLean county court house ... 190
MeLean Records—(family records) mention ... 201
McLean, Susan Howard—sister of John McLean, born at Russellville, Logan Co., Kentucky, 1803 ... 201
McLean, Dr. William—brother of John McLean builds first log house in McLeansboro ... 192
McLeansboro, Illinois—county seat of Hamilton Co., Ill., platted and surveyed by Thos. Sloo, jr ... 203
McLockland, Chas.—private under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
McMichaels, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
McMickle, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 172
McMullen, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
McPherson, George—clerk for Sawyer Paige & Co., Chicago, 1855 ... 273
McQuiddy, Thos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
McRoberts, Samuel—member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois ... 14
U. S. Senator from Illinois ... 216
Macon Co. Ill.—mention ... 121
Macoupin Co., Ill.—mention ... 208
Macoupin River (creek)—mention ... 164
Madison Co., Ill.—court house (now Edwardsville), mention ... 180
Madison Co.—Historical Society to be formed at Edwardsville ... 8
Madison Co., Ill.—mention ... 24, 79, 217
Madison Co.—population of in 1840 ... 119
Madison Co., N. Y.—mention ... 218
Madison, Dolly—cousin of Edward Coles ... 98
mention ... 103
Madison, James—President of the United States, Edward Coles private secretary to ... 98
Madison, President James—mention ... 104, 179
Madison, Wis.—State Museum, Library and Society of, mention ... 5
Magdalen—name given slave belonging to Madame St. Ange ... 132-133
"Magna Charta"—ordinance of 1787 compared to ... 18
Magnien, Anthony, called L'Esperance—buried at Prairie du Rocher ... 130-131
Mahla, member of board of health, Chicago ... 243
Mahla & Chappell—chemical manufacturers of Chicago, 1860 ... 248
Maid, Ebenezer (killed)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Mallone, J. B.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Maine—voters of the district of, on the question of separation from Massachusetts ... 185
Maisonville, Mons de—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Maize—benefits of to the white settlers ... 116
cultivation of by the Indians, uses of, etc ... 162
Malbeff, Jos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Malet, John Baptist—mention ... 132-133
Mallet, Magdalen Chassin—mention ... 132-133
Malroof, Jos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173

Index—Continued.

Page

Mañana—policy of the Spaniards (tomorrow, procrastination), mention 279
Manhattan Island—mention 201
Manitou—Indian name for spirits or Divinity, anecdotes of 42, 43
Mann, Benj.—mention 185
Mañon River—mention 164
Map of Illinois—published 1820, mention 31
Maps introduced in the transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society 7
Maps to be used as part of the decoration planned for Ill. building at La. Purchase Ex... 6
Maple Trees (sugar maples)—mention 159, 160
Marquette, Father James—explorer and messenger of the cross, mention 16
Marais River—mention 164
Marais Sassafrax (The)—box found in stream of, containing molds for casting money.... 187
Maramech Society of Kendall County, Ill.—mention 4, 290
Marbois, Barbé—French diplomat, commissioner of France in sale of Louisiana 94, 99
Margry Papers (The)—extracts from 57, 58
Marchand, Charlotte—wife of John Baptist Holandi, baptism of child of, in the parish of St. Anne 138, 139
Marie Anne, (Negress)—baptism of child of, in the parish of St. Anne's 138, 139
Marie Louise—an Indian slave of Jean Gabriel Cerré, record of burial of 288
Marietta, Ga.—later home of the Clarke brothers, druggists of Chicago 263, 264
Mark, Capt. Thos—Illinois Regt. Vols, Clark's army; receives land for services 166
Marr, Patrick—corporal and sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Marsh, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Marshall, Doctor—mention 249
Marshall, John—buried at Shawneetown, mention 198
Marshall, William—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Marseillaise, national air of France, mention 104
Martigny, Sir John—Godfather of the child of Alexander Du Claud 148, 149
Martin, Chas—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Martin, Elijah—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Martin, Pierre—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Martin, Solomon—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Maryland—votes of, cast for John Quincy Adams for president, mention 195
Mascouten Indians—mention 279
Mascoutin Indians—Father Mermet's labors among, anecdote of 42, 43
mention 58
Mason and Dixon's Line—mention 89
Mason, Chas.—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Mason County, Ky.—Thos. Sloo, locates in 202
Mason, Edward G.—essay of on Ft. Chartres, quoted 109
monograph of, on Col. John Todd's Record Book, quoted, see foot note 275
visits Ft. Chartres in 1879, extracts from paper on 115, 116
Mason, Geo.—confidential adviser of Gov. Patrick Henry 38
Massac County, Ill.—mention 295, 296
Massac Creek—mention 178
Massac, M. (or Marsac)—a young French engineer, mention 45
Massac—old fort, historical and romantic associations connected with 38
plain of 54, 56
road to, from Kaskaskia 39
see Fort Massac .....
Massac, Town of—mention 54, 55
Massacre, Fort—Fort Massac sometimes so called 41
legend of the massacre at Fort Massac and the adoption of the name "Fort Massacre" 41, 44
so called by Governor Reynolds 39
Massacre of the garrison at Ft. Massac, story of, first published by F. Cuming, mention 41, 44
Massachusetts, State of—claimed part of western territory 88
district of Maine voters of, vote on question of separation from 185
mention 104, 120
Massiac, M. de—Fort Massac named in honor of 45
French minister of the Marine and colonies, Fort Massiac named in his honor 41
Master, Barney (deserted)—Captain Bowman's company 177
Matean, Gero—private soldier Captain Charloville's company volunteers, entitled to land for services 176
Mather, Thomas—mention 103
Mathews, Edward—sergent under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Matrimonial Lottery—article on, in the "Western Intelligencer," mention 186
Matteson, Gov. Joel A.—mention 216
Maturin, Marie—child of Maturin Pinneaux and Marie Illinois 132-133
Maumee portage—mention 278
Maurepas, Lake of—mention 106
Maurisette, M.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Mauvais, Terre—mention and foot note 279
Maxent, Colonel—represented in business transaction by Gabriel Cerré 284
Maxent, Laclede & Co.—mention 284
merchants of New Orleans, mention 111

Index—Continued.

Page

Maxmeyer, Dr.—mention 249
Maxwell, Dr.—mention 249
Maxwell, Hugh, of Kaskaskia—act for the relief of, mention 186
Maxwell—land grant of the west, mention 186
Maxwell, P., of Kaskaskia—act for relief of, mention 186
Mayfield, Elijah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Mayfield, Isaac—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Mayfield, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Mayfield, Micajah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
Mayflower (The)—mention 120
Maysville, Ky.—coal oil first made at, mention 251
Daniel Boone, early resident of 202
mention 202
Mead, Dr. Homer—recent contributions of, regarding the ruins of Fort Chartres, mention 117
Meadows, Josiah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Mears, William—appointed Attorney General of Illinois 1813, last territorial attorney general, sketch of 212, 213
Attorney General of State of Illinois, 1819, mention 213
Meigs, Col. R. J.—received at Cincinnati goods for Fort Massac 60
Memorial addresses—accepted by the society and secretary directed to place them in the records 2
Memorial papers—suggestions offered as to publication of 7
"Men and Manners of the Early Days in Illinois"—address before Illinois State Historical Society by Dr. A. W. French 65–74
Menard Pierre—First Lieut. Governor State of Illinois 23
of Randolph Co., Ill., candidate for the legislative court (council) 184
entertains Gen. LaFayette 102
member of standing committee of early Illinois State Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois 141
monument erected to, mention 290
president of the Council, Territorial Legislature 188
Meramec—stock farm on, owned by Gabriel Cerré 284
Mercantile Library of St. Louis—files of early newspapers consulted at, by J. H. Burnham 179
Mercersburg, Franklin Co., Pa.—mention 202
Merchant, Dr. G. W.—manufacturer of Merchant's Gargling Oil at Lockport, N. Y. 266
Merchant's Gargling Oil—mention 266, put up by L. M. Boyce under name of Arabian Oil 269
Meredocia—(Meredosia) proposed early railroad to 66
Merino Sheep—put up at lottery at Goshen, Ill., mention 189
sale of, advertised in the "Western Intelligencer" 1816 188–189
Mermet, Father Jean—French Jesuit missionary, born Grenoble 1664, died in the Illinois Mission, 1716 .....
anecdote of his argument with Indian Charlatans 42–43
accompanies Juchereau St. Denis 41–42
chaplain to French and missionary to Indians 42
preached, on site of Fort Massac, the first religious discourse ever preached in limits of the State of Illinois 39, 42
Merritt, Miss Susie—mention 10
Merriweather, Lieut. James—Ill. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services 167
Merriweather, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Metropolis, Ill.—county seat of Massac county, Ill., Fort Massac situated near 295, 296
town of, mention 38, 55
Mexican Coins—silver money used in 1833, mention 242
Mexican War—attitude of Illinois members of Congress toward 78
Illinois troops in, mention 209
Mexico, Gulf of—mention 16, 17, 40, 94, 95, 106
Mexico, History of—written by Gen. James Semple, but never published 216
Mexico, War with—mention 78
Miami River—mention 57
Michigan, Lake—mention 21, 162, 164
Michigan Central Railroad—second railroad to enter Chicago 247
Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana Railroad—first railroad to enter Chicago 247
Michigan, State of—mention 39, 71, 273
Michilimackinac—mention 281
Michili Mackinac—mention 279
Milburn, Wm.—blind chaplain of Congress, his opinion of influence of John L. Scripps in nomination of Lincoln, 1860 232
Militia Laws of the Territory of Illinois—mention 188
Military Land on the Mississippi River—mention 164
Military Lands—boundary of, acreage of 164
Military Posts—establishment of 164
Military Road from Massac to Kaskaskia 39
Mill, John Stuart—quotation from 29, 30
Millard, Josiah, of St. Genevieve, Mo.—advertisement in the Western Intelligencer of the taking up of a negro 185
Millet, Jacques—signs church record as witness 146, 147
Millet, Jane Potier—godmother of infant baptised in the chapel of St. Philip 128, 129
Millet, Marie Frances—godmother to child of Maturin Pinneaux and Marie Illinois 132–133

Index—Continued.

Page

Miller, Abraham (killed)—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
in Capt. Jos. Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another, foot note 177
Miller, A. J.—Soda fountain introduced by, in early drug store 249
Miller, George (deserted)—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's company, when enlisted 177
Miller, John—clerk in drug store of Clarke Bros., Chicago 264
mention 243
private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Mills, Benjamin—mention 192
Milton (or Wilton) Daniel—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Milwaukee—American Fur Co., in 118, 119
mention 120, 121, 263
Mimbret M. de—mention 146, 147
Mineral Wealth of JoDaviess County, Ill 31-37
Mines of JoDaviess County (The)—address by Hon. Wm. Spensley before Illinois State Historical Society, 1903 31-37
Mines, River of—name given by La Seur to river, probably Galena river 31
Minnesota, State of—mention 31-39
Minshall, Wm. A.—lawyer, mention 224
Missie, Bernard—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 172
Mississippi Company (or Company of the West)—mention 105
Mississippi—Northern Chickasaw Indians expedition against in northern Mississippi 108
Mississippi River—advertisements of new ferry to be started on, 1816 182
caves on, visited by Ferdinand Ernst 163
changes in the channel noted 115
Congress resumed rights on, including Ft. Chartres and its buildings 113
country coveted by the English, Napoleon determined to prevent its ownership of it, sells it to the U. S 94, 95, 96
course of, described by Cadillac 43
D'Artaguette joined by Sieur de Vinconne (or Vincennes) at 108
described, steamboats on, etc 152, 153
description of river, tributary to 31
drowning of eight persons in, by the upsetting of a boat; mentioned in the Western Intelligencer 188
emigrants living near 96
exploration of, by Joliet and Marquette, mention 40
free navigation of desired by western settlers, dissatisfaction at failure of U. S. government to secure it 40
free navigation of secured to U. S. by treaty with Spain, 1795 49
French build forts along 40
French settlement at mouth of, mention 40
fur trade on, mention 42
landing of the early explorers on 16
LaSalle' perilous descent of, mention 16
mention 56, 57, 86, 87, 100, 106, 110, 111, 113, 119, 153, 162, 164, 180, 186, 282
necessity for its control in Civil War 93
strategic points on 95
toast drank to, at the naming of Monroe Co., Ills 183
towns on, population of 287
Mississippi Valley—British rule of short duration in 18
"Mississippi Valley" (The)—by Justin Winsor, statement taken from 45
Mississippi Valley—Cerré, administers law in 275
Cerré locates in, twelve years before Daniel Boone 276
Cerré's life in, mention 275
Daniel Boone in, mention 276
fear that the English may gain foot-hold in 109
Ft Chartres seat of British power in 105
French colonies in 40
Great Britain's claim in 17
mention 17, 116, 276
Pittmen's report on European settlements in 112
settlements in 152
weather in, in 1816 the year of the cold summer 186
"Missouri Bill" (the)—in U. S. Congress, mention, foot-note 154
"Missouri Compromise of 1820" (The)—mention 22
Cook (D. P.) votes against in Congress 193
John J. Crittenden in favor of restoring 212
mention 90
Missouri Historical Society Collections—mention 275
Missouri River country—mention 282
Missouri River—mention 43, 93, 155, 163, 282
Missouri River—probable future means of connection between Mississippi river and Pacific Ocean 164, 165
reports of healthfulness of banks of, disputed 165
Missouri State—delegates from accompany Gen. LaFayette and party to Kaskaskia 102

Index—Continued.

Page

Missouri, State of—emigration to, of slave holders ... 100
lead found in abundance in ... 107
mention ... 76, 150, 276
votes of cast for John Quincy Adams for president, mention ... 195
Missouri Territory—application for admission into the Union ... 22
mention ... 154
Mobile, ——— —mention ... 58, 112
Moench & Reinhold—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 ... 255
Moloney, Maurice T.—Attorney General of Ill., sketch of ... 220
Monet, J. B.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Monforten, Mr.—mention ... 281
Monmouth, Ill.—mention ... 219
Monroe County, Ill.—grant of land to Philip Francois de Renault in what is now Monroe county ... 107
mention ... 86, 214
only county in the State whose boundaries exist today as marked out by the Legislature of Illinois Territory ... 183
Monroe, President James—mention ... 18, 98, 104, 214
one of the commissioners of the United States who purchased Louisiana from France ... 94, 95
Montague, (La.)—Nickname of Anthony Zibert ... 146, 147
Montana—mention ... 209
Montcalm, Gen. Louis Joseph, Marquis de—death of, mention ... 87
mention ... 17
Montezumas—throne of, Aaron Burr plans to conquer ... 40
throne of, mention ... 40, 59
Montgomery County, Ill.—mention ... 208
Montgomery, James—lieutenant in Ill. Regt. Vol. Clark's army, entitled to land for services ... 167
Montgomery, John—Lieut. Col. in Ill. Regt. Vol. Clark's army, receives land for services ... 166
Montgomery, John—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services ... 172
Montrauye. —— —private soldier Capt. Charloville's company Vols., entitled to land for services ... 176
Montreal—Cerré (Jean Gabriel) born at, mention ... 276
mention ... 42, 43, 45, 57, 87, 277, 278
Monuments—erected by the State of Illinois over celebrated citizens ... 290
Edward Coles, no monument in the State of Illinois to memory of ... 101
Elijah, P. Lovejoy, monument erected to, by citizens of Alton, Ill ... 290
Pierre Menard, monument erected to, in the State House grounds, Springfield, Ill ... 290
State and county, photographs of, suggested for Illinois building at Louisiana Purchase Exposition ... 5
revolutionary soldiers, monuments erected to, mention ... 291
Stillman Valley monument, erected by the State of Illinois to the pioneers who fell in the Black Hawk war ... 290
Mooqua—branch of the Sangamon river ... 162
name, signification of ... 162
Moore, James—hired by Gabriel Cerré to trade with Indians ... 283
sketch of, by Reynolds, mention, foot note ... 275
Moore, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 172
Moore, Peter—captain Ills. Reg't Vols. Clark's army, entitled to land for services ... 166
Moore, Thomas—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 173
Moran (or Mauron) Peter—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 173
Morgan, Charles—sergeant gunner under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Morgan County, Ill.—census returns of for 1840 ... 119
mention ... 24, 119, 120, 218, 279
mention, foot note ... 279
Morgan, Col. George—founds colony, calls it, New Madrid ... 283
Mormons—mention ... 293
Morris, Jacob—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 172
Morris, James (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 172
Morris (Capt.) W. G.—mention ... 251
Morris, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Morrison, William—of Kaskaskia, mention ... 182
Moses, Adolph—mention ... 300
Moses, John—"Illinois Historical and Statistical" quotations from, foot notes. 76, 80, 81, 82, 190
Moses, John—quotations from his "Illinois Historical and Statistical" ... 211, 218
quotations from his "History of Illinois" in regard to the law to incorporate State bank, etc ... 193
Mt. Carmel, Ill.—proposed early railroad to ... 66
Mt. Sterling, Ill.—mention ... 229
Muddy River—mention ... 56
Mueller, W. H.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in the fire of 1871 ... 255
Mulby, William—gunner under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 172
Mummilly, Joseph—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 173
Mureau, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Munrony, Sylvester—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Munrony, William—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173

Index—Continued.

Page

Murphy John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Murray, Edward—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 172
Murray, Thomas—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another, see foot-note..... 177
Murrey, Edward—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, mileage, rations due..... 177
Murshen, Nathaniel (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 173
Mustach, ——— —private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 172
"My Own Times"—by Gov. John Reynolds, mention.....190, 194, 196
quotations from.....50, 51
Naples, Ill.—Branch of the Springfield & Jacksonville railroad, mention..... 67
proposed early railroad to..... 66
Napoleon Bonaparte—first consul of France, his reasons for sale of Louisiana.....94, 95, 96
"Napoleon" (The)—schooner, carried the first shipment of western produce from the port of Chicago to the east..... 242
Nare, Conrad—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Nash, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Nashville, Tenn—city of, capture by Federal forces..... 93
mention.....63, 217
newspapers of, mention..... 182
site of present city early known as the "French Lick," mention..... 283
Natchez, Miss.—mention.....40, 58
Natchez, War—D'Artaguette, (Capt. Pierre) serves in. mention..... 108
Nauvoo, Ill.—mention..... 293
Navigation of Mississippi River—western settlers angered at failure of United States government to secure..... 40
Neal, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Nebraska—agitation over the question of slavery in..... 89
Necrological Department—suggestions offered as to inauguration of one in Illinois State Historical Society..... 7
Necrologist's Report of Illinois State Historical Society.....122–125
mention 2
Negrolin Illinois—his status.....77, 81
Negro River—mention..... 164
Negro Slave—named David, advertisement for apprehension of..... 182
Negro—troubles of the free negro, incident given..... 185
Negroes—drug store of Chicago refused to sell soda water to..... 249
Negroes—slave of Gabriel Cerré, record of burial of..... 288
Nelson, Andrew—pioneer Norwegian of Chicago..... 249
Nelson, Enoch—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Nelson, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Nelson, Moses—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
"Neptune" (The)—ship of the western company, arrives at Dauphin Island, mention.... 105
New Albion, Edwards County, Ill.—settlement at..... 150
Newberry & Dole—commission house of Chicago, mention..... 241
Newberry Library, Chicago—gift of Walter C. Newberry, mention..... 249
Newberry, Walter C.—mention..... 249
Newby, Col. E. W. B.—commanded Ill. Regt. in Mexican war, mention..... 209
New Chartres—in the parish of St. Anne, Ill., mention..... 111
New Design, Monroe County, Ill.—mention..... 215
Newell, Mason H.—reference to his article "Township Government in Ill," foot note..... 81
"The Attorneys General of Illinois", paper contributed to Illinois State Historical Society Transactions.....211-220
New England—emmigrants from in Illinois, their influence.....79, 80
mention..... 118
ship "Westener," mention..... 98
New England States—six New England states vote for John Quincy Adams for president, mention..... 195
wages compared to those paid in Illinois in 1788..... 120
New France—mention.....95, 286
name given by Marquette and Joliet to newly discovered country, mention 16
New Grenada, South America—now Colombia; Gen. James Semple minister to..... 216
New Hampshire—federal candidate for governor of, defeated..... 185
New Harmony, Indiana—mention.....154, 155
New Jersey, State of—mention..... 217
New Madrid—colony founded at, by Col. Geo. Morgan, 1787..... 283
founding of, by the Leseurs for Gabriel Cerré, mention..... 282
mention..... 48
New Orleans—battle at, victory of General Jackson..... 62
Bienville's (Gov.), headquarters at..... 107
goods shipped from Boston to Chicago by way of..... 247
New Orleans Picayune, Jan. 18, 1879—account of Thomas Sloo's death, quoted from..... 206
New Orleans—mention 20, 48, 68, 54, 94, 95, 108, 111, 114, 121, 162, 165, 186, 285, 287
metropolis of Louisiana, mention..... 110
New York to New Orleans by means of canal, suggestion..... 162
prediction as to its future greatness..... 165
Thomas Sloo, Jr., removes to and engages in business..... 204
New Salem—mention..... 293

Index—Continued.

Page

Newspapers—Chicago Daily American, June 15, 1839, mention ... 274
Chicago Daily American, May 16, 1842, extract from ... 246
Chicago Daily Democrat, Nov. 26, 1833, Vol. I, No. 1 ... 241
Chicago Daily Democrat, June 15, 1839, mention ... 274
Chicago Democrat of Oct. 29, 1851 ... 250
Chicago Times of May 9, 1869, mention ... 252
divided and fierce on the slavery question ... 24
earliest newspaper in the Illinois Territory the "Illinois Herald" first published in Kaskaskia either in 1814 or 1815 ... 179
Illinois Emigrant published by John M. Eddy at Shawneetown, Ill., 1817 ... 200
Illinois Gazette of Shawneetown, reference to, see foot note ... 190
Illinois Gazette (The), 1825, mention ... 195
Illinois Intelligencer of Vandalia, July 6, 1826 ... 203
New Orleans Picayune of Jan. 18, 1879, mention ... 206
of Frankfort, Ky., Kaskaskia, and Nashville, Tenn., mention ... 182
of 1818, failure of to record debates between Cook and McLean on slavery question, mention ... 194
paper on an early Illinois newspaper, extracts from its files, contributed to the Illinois State Historical Society transactions by J. H. Burnham ... 179–189
St. Louis Republic, mention ... 200
Shawneetown Illinois Gazette, 1825, mention ... 195
Newton, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
New York Central Railroad, mention ... 70
New York Cheap Cash Drug Store—name of Sidney Sawyer's drug store in Chicago ... 271, 272
sign used by early drug stores ... 244
New York College of Pharmacy, mention ... 250
New York Druggists—contribute money for relief of Chicago druggists after fire of 1871 ... 258
New York—goods shipped to Chicago principally from New York, mention ... 247
Illinois State Fund Commissioner's attempt to borrow money in ... 68, 69, 70
immigration to Illinois from ... 79
mail facilities between New York and Chicago in early days ... 242
mention ... 22, 121, 162, 201, 202, 206, 271
six pence, Mexican coins used in 1833, mention ... 242
to New Orleans by means of canal, suggestion ... 162
vote of, cast for John Quincy Adams for president, mention ... 195
"New Voyage to America"—by LaHontan, quotation from ... 42
Niagara, Fort—mention ... 39, 41
Nice, France—mention ... 271
Niles, Mich.—mention ... 247
Nobbs, Mark—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 173
Nominating Committee—of Illinois State Historical Society, report of ... 4
Normornstea—private soldier, Capt. Charloville's Co. Ill. Vols.; entitled to land for services ... 176
North America—British and French colonies in; state of, mention ... 40
French conquest and dominion in, ended ... 112
French possessions in, mention ... 107
mention ... 112, 164, 286
rival traders in, mention ... 276
North American Continent—ancient struggle for supremacy in ... 17
North Carolina—mention ... 92, 124, 191, 201
Northcott, W. A.—Lieutenant Governor, Illinois; address of welcome to Illinois State Historical Society, January, 1903 ... 11
presiding officer of the Senate, reference to ... 15
mention ... 9, 12
Northcott, Mrs. Wm. A.—mention ... 10
Northern Cross Railroad—construction of, described ... 70
Northwest—conquest of, by Geo. Rogers Clark, mention ... 59
conquest of, honor due to Clark and his soldiers ... 178
Northwest Territory—divided by act of Congress, May, 1800 ... 20
Governor, Secretary, and Judges appointed for ... 19
Indiana territory formed from ... 20
Legislature authorized for ... 19
mention ... 211
ordinance for the government of, when formed ... 19
organized under ordinance of 1787, provisions of the ordinance ... 88, 89, 90
owned successively by France and Spain ... 41
religious freedom granted in ... 20
slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in states formed from ... 20
states carved from it, mention ... 39
Thomas Posey, governor of, mention ... 198
trial by jury granted in ... 20
writ of *habeas corpus* granted in ... 20
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.—purchases Tremont house for its professional schools ... 238
reports of the committee of Historical Society appointed to attend the installation of Dr. E. J. James, as president of ... 2

Index—Continued.

Page

Norton, Jesse—mention ... 80
"Notes on a Journey in America, etc"—by Morris Birkbeck, its reliability, mention ... 150
Novia Scotia—mention ... 95
Oakland, Cal.—mention ... 266
Oaslow, Charles—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Oater Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
"Observations made upon a journey through the interior of the United States of North America in the year 1819"—by Ferdinand Ernst, translation of part of ... 150–165
Ofin, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Oglesby, Gov. Richard J.—anti-slavery leader in Illinois, but of southern birth ... 83
mention ... 122, 219
Oharra, Michael—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Ohioiere, (La Belle)—mention ... 39
Ohio Country—Indians of, the English traffic with ... 40
Ohio, Country—French posts, and settlements on, ceded to England ... 46
Ohio Land Company—its influence in the passage of the ordinance of 1787 ... 89
Ohio River—British forts on ... 38
Cerré (Jean Gabriel), trader with Indians on ... 277
Clark crosses the Ohio River ... 18
French build forts along ... 40
Gen. Victor Collot makes survey of ... 50
Indian trade on, mention ... 277
Juchereau St. Denis proposes to found settlement on ... 41
mention ... 43, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 86, 87, 93, 97, 202, 212, 213, 217, 295
mouth of, discovered by Marquette and Joliet, mention ... 40
posts on, mention ... 57
[illegible] settlers on ... 49
Ohio, State of—mention ... 39, 71, 89, 96, 276
Ohio Valley—Great Britain's claims in ... 17
Okaw, Ill.—proposed early railroad to ... 66
Okaw River (Kaskaskia)—mention ... 14, 152, 158, 207
"Old Fort"—early name by which fort on site of Fort Massac was known ... 41
Old Massac road—mention ... 39
Old Settlers' Association of Bureau Co. Ill.—mention ... 2
Oliver, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Turner—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Olney, George W. Attorney General of Illinois, 1838, mention ... 217
Onaquispasippi River (Salt Creek Logan Co., Ill.)—mention ... 157
Onaquispasippi River—mention ... 161, 162
mention, see foot note ... 161
Onkley, John—gunner with Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Ontario Lake—mention ... 16
Orben, Phillip—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, mileage, rations ... 177
Ordinance of 1787—a decisive event in the development of Illinois ... 88, 89, 90
called the second "Magna Charta" ... 18
Daniel Webster's opinion of ... 18, 19
formation of ... 19
fundamental principles of ... 89
mention ... 30, 99, 100, 187
provisions of ... 19, 20
Orendorff, Mrs. Alfred—mention ... 10
Orr, Alex D.—mention ... 202
O'Ryan, C. D. B.—Retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 ... 255
Osborne, Miss Georgia L.—assistant librarian Illinois State Historical Library ... 7
mention ... 10
Ottawa, Ill.—Lincoln-Douglas debate at, Aug. 21, 1858 ... 228
mention ... 219, 224, 290
Revolutionary soldier's grave at, marked ... 291
"Ouabache"—early name for Ohio river, mention ... 41
"Ouabache," la riviere de la—mention ... 57, 58
"Ouabache" or Ohio—trading posts on, mention ... 43
Overland Stage Company—James Alfred Slade, division superintendent of ... 209
Owditt (or Odett), Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Owen, Major Ezra—doorkeeper of Territorial Legislature, held at Kaskaskia, mention ... 188
Owen, T. J. V.—mention ... 243
Ozburn (or Osborn), Ebenezer—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Pacific Ocean—mention ... 164
Paducah, Ky.—distance from Fort Massac ... 53
mention ... 57
Pagan, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Page, E. C.—reference to letter of in report of the committee of Historical Society appointed to attend the installation of Dr. E. J. James ... 2
Paguin, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 173
Paige, Nathaniel—clerk in drug store of Dr. Sawyer, Chicago, 1851 ... 272
in charge of wholesale and financial department, Sawyer's drug store. 273
of the firm of Sawyer, Paige & Co., druggists, Chicago ... 272
Washington, D. C., present home of ... 273
Paintings of Historic Landscapes—suggested as decorations for Illinois building at Louisiana Purchase Exposition ... 5, 6

Index—Continued.

Page

Palestine, Crawford County, Ill.—mention 218
Palmer, John M.—anti-slavery leader in Illinois, but of southern birth 83
Governor of the State of Illinois 25
member of the Illinois Constitutional convention of 1847 25
Palmer, Mrs. John M.—mention 10
Pangrass, Francis—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged miles to go home, rations due 177
(or Puncrass) soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another, foot note 177
Pangrass, Joseph—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
(or Puncrass) soldier under Clark, discharged from Bowman's company, enlisted in another, entitled to land, foot note 177
Pangrass, Michael—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Panther, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Paoli, Dr. Gerhard Christian—mention 248
Papin—sergeant in Capt. Charleville's Co. Vol., entitled to land for services 176
Pare, John—death of 145
Paris Exposition—mention 249
Paris, Edgar County, Ill.—mention 220
Paris, France—Archives at, mention 45
druggists send aid to druggists of Chicago after fire of 1871 258
Louis de Kerlerec imprisoned in the Bastile at Paris 110
treaty of, mention 17, 18
Paris—treaty of 1763, terms of, lands ceded, etc 46
Parisienne, Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Parker, Edward—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Paroult, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Parrish, Edward—mention 247
Parsons, John—retail druggist of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871 255
Patent and Proprietary Medicines—purchased by Peter Pruyne & Co., 1837, list of 261-262
sold by early druggists of Chicago 244, 245, 274
Patterson, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Patterson, R. W.—quotation from his "Early Society of Southern Illinois," mention, foot note 76
Patterson, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Pattison, Rev.—mention 249
Pawpaw—fruit of the Illinois country, described 165
Payne, Adam—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Payne, William—(deserted) private soldier under Clark 174
Peaters, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Peck, Rev. John Mason—chosen historian to prepare a complete history of Illinois 14
Peck, John M.—historian of Illinois, mention 103
historical writings of, mention 14
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society 13
minister of the gospel, mention 103
proposes to write a history of Illinois 72, 73
resolution passed Illinois General Assembly furnishing him books for historical purposes 72, 73
Peck, P. F. W.—builds first frame house in Chicago 236
opens general store in Chicago, July 15, 1831, mention 239
mention 249
Peck & Boyce—linseed oil manufacturers, mention 270
Pekin, Ill.—proposed early railroad to 66
Pellot, Charles—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Peltier, Joseph—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Penett (or Penit) Joshua—private soldier under Clark: entitled to land for services 173
Penir, Jesse (killed)—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Pennicaut's Annals of Louisiana, from 1699 to 1722—quoted 106
Pennsylvania—mention 165, 191, 212, 219, 251
"Pennsylvanian" (a)—mention 165
Penton, Thomas—clerk in drug store of Clarke Bros., Chicago 264
Penton & Robinson—wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850 251
Peoria, Ill.—proposed early railroad to, directions, etc 66
mention 219
the Renault grant at or near, see foot note 181
Peoria Indians 278, 279
Peoria Lake—formed from the Illinois river 164
mention 161
Peorias—on the river of the Illinois, mention 278, 279
Pepin, John (killed)—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 166
Perault, Capt. Michael—Illinois Regiment Volunteers, Clark's army; received land for services 166
Perie, William—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 173
Perrault, Louis—sells St. Louis property to Gabriel Cerré, mention 283
Perrey, Thomas (deserted)—Capt. Joseph Bowman's Co 177
Peru, Ill., proposed early railroad to, direction of, etc 66
Peters, Wilhelm—attended first Republican meeting ever held in Schuyler Co., Ill 227
Peter Pruyne & Co.—see Pruyne
Petroleum—mention 250, 251

Index—Continued.

Page

Petter, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Pfannstiel, C. F.—mention..... 251
"Pharmacist" (The)—journal of the Chicago drug trade, gives account of Chicago fire, especially with reference to the Chicago College of Pharmacy and Chicago drug houses.....257, 258
"Pharmacist" (The)—its account of the Chicago fire and its effect on the drug firms of Chicago.....254-256
monthly periodical began after the civil war..... 252
Pharmacy—American (the) journal of pharmacy—first publication in the English language devoted to Pharmacy..... 246
Chicago College of: its losses in the Chicago fire, and aid given it by friends.....257, 258
Chicago school of—organized and incorporated in the winter of 1859..... 247
Chicago College of—reorganized after the civil war..... 252
Druggists Circular and Chemical Gazette—monthly publication, 1856 mention 246
in Chicago—second decade from 1840 to 1850 one of progress, etc..... 243
law—mention..... 252
law of Illinois—passed Legislature 1880..... 253
Legislation in Illinois..... 253
in New York..... 253
in the U. S..... 253
Philadelphia—Coles, (Edward) death of, at..... 104
College of Pharmacy; mention..... 258
depot quartermaster at—extracts from records of.....60, 61, 62
druggists of, send money to aid Chicago druggists after Chicago fire of 1871..... 258
founded about the same time as St. Louis..... 154
mention.....112, 121
Philips, Henry—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Philips, Capt. Joseph—stationed at Fort Massac.....61, 62
Phillips, Wendell—mention..... 104
Philyppe, Dame Elizabeth—wife of M. Alexander Du Claud, child of, baptised.....148, 149
Piatt, Benjamin M.—appointed attorney general of Illinois Territory, 1810; mention..... 212
Pickens, Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Pierce, President Franklin—Illinois gives heavy majority to him in election; mention... 81
President Franklin—mention..... 212
Pike County, Ill.—County Historical Society organized at Pittsfield 8
Pike County—Historical Society report from..... 8
mention..... 180
Pike, Capt. Zebulon—commandant at Fort Massac..... 50
commandant at Fort Massac, death of.....39, 40
Pimatoui, Renault Grant—mention..... 181
Pinckney—resolution of 1836, supported by Illinois Congressmen.....77, 78
Pineaux, Marie—burial of, in the parish of Fort Chartres.....132, 133
Pineaux, Maturin—mention.....134, 135
infant of, baptised by J. Gagnon, priest.....132, 133
Pinquel, Sir Obroch, of the bishopric of Chartres.....138, 139
Pintard, John—translates French writings of Gabriel Cerré..... 288
"Pioneer History of Illinois," by Gov. John Reynolds—quotations from.....211, 212, 213
Pioneers of Illinois—preservation of history of..... 213
Pitney, Dr.—Homeopathic physician, Chicago, mention..... 270
Pittsburg—block house at, mention..... 292
distance from Fort Massac..... 53
Pittsburg, Pa.—mention..... 268
mention.....202, 217
Pittman, Buckner—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Pittman, Capt. Philip—official report of, printed at London in 1770, mention..... 112
of the Royal British Engineers, mention..... 112
returned to England, 1768, mention..... 112
Pittsfield, Pike County—County Historical Society organized at..... 8
Plains of Abraham (Quebec)—battle of, mention..... 87
Platteville, Grant County, Wis.—mine at, mention..... 37
Playing Cards—early Illinois laws against their importation into the State..... 73
Pli, Anthony (called La Plume)—death of.....148, 149
Political Dramas—one of the most wonderful in the history of the State of Illinois....100, 101
Pontchartrain, Count de, Chancellor of France—patron of Juchereau.....41, 43
writes letter to French Canadian officials 57
mention..... 58
Pontchartrain, Jerome—mention.....57, 58
Pontchartrain, Lake—mention..... 106
Pontchartrain, Louis Phelypeaux—Count de, Chancellor of France, born 1643, died 1717, mention..... 58
Pontiac—Ottawa chief—mention..... 276
Poores, Archer—fifer with Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Pope, Judge Nathaniel—Illinois territorial delegate in congress, succeeds in altering northern boundry line of Illinois in enabling act, etc., his foresight and statesmanship, its effect on development of Ills....90, 91
amendment proposed by, extending northern boundry of the State of Illinois..... 21
candidate for delegate to congress, mention..... 181

Index—Continued.

Page

Pope, Judge Nathaniel—delegate in congress..... 20
in congress, secures amendment to enabling act of Congress on admission of Illinois as a State, which changed the boundry line and secured 14 northern counties for Illinois.....75, 80, 81
member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois..... 14
Populus, M. Louis—officer of the marine troops, mention.....134, 135
Portage des Sioux—mention.....163, 164
Porter, Ebenezer—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Portraits—introduced in transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, an improvement..... 7
of illustrious men and women of Illinois suggested for Illinois building at Louisiana Purchase Exposition..... 5
Portwood, Page—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Posey, General Thomas—aide to George Washington, U. S. Senator of Louisiana, buried at Shawneetown, Governor of the northwest territory... 198
Governor of Indiana Territory, mention..... 198
Governor Northwestern Territory..... 198
Posts or forts—early ones described..... 41
Post Routes—in Illinois territory, mention..... 188
Posts Vincennes—mention..... 111
Potier, Jane—wife of James Millet, mention.....128-129
Potier, Marie Francoisse (Francis)—wife of Joseph Buchet, child of baptised.....146, 147
Potomac Hills—mention..... 207
Potter, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Potter, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—law school at, mention..... 219
Poundridge, Westchester Co., N. Y.—mention..... 213
Pourre, Don Eugenio (Beausoliel)—leads Spanish expedition across the Illinois, mention..... 279
Powder Magazine at Ft. Chartres—description of by Edw. G. Mason.....115-116, 292
Powell, Micajah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for service..... 174
Power, Thomas—visited Fort Massac..... 40
Powers Abner—monument erected to at Lily Lake DeKalb Co., Ills..... 291
Prairie du Chien—mention..... 183
Sioux Indians reside near..... 182
within the northern limits of Illinois Territory..... 183
Prairie du Pont—mention..... 187
Prairie du Puert Creek—mention..... 187
Prairie du Rocher—Illinois; church records, with translations, by Rev. C. J. Eschmann.128-149
Illinois, mention.....128-149, 185, 187
Illinois school of Benj. Sturgess located in, advertisement of.....187
Illinois situated on the land granted to Boisbriant..... 107
Prairie Fires—mention, foot note..... 159
Prairies of Illinois—described..... 151
Prattsville, N. Y.—mention..... 219
Pre-historic relics—suggested to be used in Illinois building at Louisiana Purchase Ex.. 6
President *pro tempore*—of the Senate of Illinois Hon. John McKenzie, mention..... 81
"President" (The)—schooner on the lakes in Chicago trade..... 265
Presiding Officer of the Senate—reference to Hon. W. A. Northcott..... 15
Price, J.—mention..... 250
Price Capt. Sam—light artillery, stationed at Fort Massac..... 61
Priest, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Prickett G. R.—residence of at Springfield, Ill., mention..... 215
Princeton, Bureau Co., Ill.—Historical Society soon to be formed at..... 8
Princeton, Ill.—mention..... 2
Printers—Matthew Duncan's in the Illinois Territory, mention..... 119
union formed in Chicago 1852..... 119
Pritchett (or Pritcher) Wm.—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 173
Proctor, William—mention..... 247
Program Committee of Ills. State Hist. Soc.—chairman of, reads report..... 2
divided as to discussion following the reading of papers..... 8
report of..... 7-8
suggestions of, as to time of holding meetings..... 7-8
Program of exercises of Historical Society..... 10
"Prometheus" (The)—first naval vessel of the U. S. to go up the Baltic Sea..... 99
Pro-Slavery Party of Illinois—schemes for a convention, etc.....100-101
Pruyne, Peter—business ability of, his management of the business, offices held by, death of.....260-263
clerk of Chicago school board, director of State Bank of Illinois, State Senator, etc..... 261
death of..... 262
director of branch of "The State Bank of Illinois," opened in Chicago.... 242
Pruyne, Peter, & Co.—drug and general store in Chicago, 1833, mention..... 241
drug store of, meeting held in to decide whether Chicago shall corporate as a town, etc..... 242
built first dock in Chicago, except government dock at Fort Dearborn, its location, rental, etc..... 260

Index—Continued.

Page

Pruyne, Peter, & Co.—contractors and purveyors of supplies in building Illinois and Michigan Canal 238
drug business of in Chicago, the members of the firm, location of the store, etc 260, 261, 262, 263
early public meetings of Chicago held in store of 261
second drug store 243
Pryor, Roger A. of New York—mention 220
Publication Committee of Ill. State His. Soc. signs—Introduction to sketch of Jean Gabriel Cerré, by Walter B. Douglas 275
report of 6, 7
Pulford, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Pullman, George M.—marks historic spot in Chicago 291
Pullman Palace Car Company—mention 220
Pullman—town of, mention 220
Puncrass, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Puncrass, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Pupin, M.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Purcell (or Pursley), Wm.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 173
Purple, Norman H.—judge of Illinois court, mention 225
Putnam, A. W.. of Belpré—befriends Mrs. Blennerhassett 60
Quaker Landlord of Illinois Tavern—anecdote of 157
Quebec—ancient French capital, mention 16
ancient seat of government of the French empire in the new world 16
Cerré takes part in the fight at, mention 276
expedition of Marquette and Joliet by authority of the commandant at 16
Heights of Abraham at, mention 17
mention 20, 40, 58, 87, 95, 279
siege of, mention 112
Wolfe's brilliant victory at, reference to 18
Quincy, Ill.—mention 2, 180, 290
large numbers of Germans locate near 79
proposed early railroad to 66
Quincy Guards—Gen. E. B. Hamilton captain of 122
Quincy Historical Society—mention 8, 123
Quincy Whig—reference to articles in on the ruins of Fort Chartres 117
Quincy Whig (The)—quotations from 224
Quinine—use of in the treatment of malarial diseases of new countries 163, 164
Quirk, Major Thomas—allotted land as soldier under Clark 166
Rabey, Cader—soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ragry, Wm.—mention 140, 141
Railroad Building in Illinois 121
Railroads; Chicago—first railroad entered in 1852 247
Railroads in Illinois—early movements in favor of 65
early rates for freight and passengers 66, 67
distribution of proposed lines, list 66
Railroads—Michigan Central, mention 247
Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana railroad, first railroad to enter Chicago 247
Railroads in Illinois—no railroads in Illinois in early day, freight and transportation, question of, westward movement 242
Ralls, Capt. Wm.—In Black Hawk war 222
"Rambler" (The)—English traveler describes Chicago in 1833, quotation from writings of 237
Ramsey, James—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ramsey, Lieut. Joseph—Ill. Vols. in Clark's army; receives land for services 167
Randall, Jonathan G.—Rushville, Ill , father of R. R. Randall, Lincoln writes letter to 226
Randall, Robert—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Randall, R. R.—apprenticed to Simeon Francis, editor Illinois Journal 226
befriended by Lincoln, anecdote of 225, 226
one of the founders of the Rushville Times, mention 225
Randolph County, Ill.—mention 211
remains of Ft. Chartres in 105
Randolph, Edward—quarrel with Thos. Randolph, reference to 102
Randolph, John—service of, in preventing introduction of slavery into Illinois 92
Randolph, Thos.—quarrel with Edward Randolph, reference to 102
Ranger, J. B.—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Rangers—"Governor Edward's Rangers", mention 183
territorial from Illinois and Indiana, payment secured from the U. S. government for, mention 183
Raomma, Paul—private soldier in Capt. Charleville's Co. Vols.; entitled to land for services 176
Rastel, Philip de—Chevalier de Rocheblave; see Rochblave 177–178
"Raven" (The)—village of, on the Illinois river, mention 279
Ravenscroft, Lieut. Thos.—Illinois Regt. Vols. Clark's army, receives land for services. 167
Rawlings, Gen. Moses M.—entertains General LaFayette 102
home of, still standing, where General LaFayette was entertained 102
Ray, Andre—surgeon; entitled to land as soldier under Clark 166
Ray, Dwight E.—son of Wm. H. Ray, given dime by A. Lincoln 230
Ray, Mrs. Jennie L.—mention 230

Index—Continued.

Page

Ray, Wm. H.—Lincoln entertained at his home on visit to Rushville, 1858, entertainment of the guest, etc. 229, 230
Reavise, Chas.—first to begin to build in the town of Vandalia 163
Rebels (The Americans)—mention 281
Rebellion—war of, mention 34-35
Reception Committee—Illinois State Historical Society assists at reception at executive mansion, list of, mention 10
thanks of the Illinois State Historical Society tendered to 9
Reception to the Illinois State Historical Society held at the executive mansion 9
Rector, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Red Banks—mention 63, 64
Red River 43
Reed, J. H. & Co.—announcement of, in the Chicago Daily Democrat of Oct. 29, 1851 250
druggists, Chicago, mention 256, 259
refuse to sell soda water to negro, store tabooed by colored population 249
supplies the army of the west and southwest during Civil War 252
test of the first gas used as an illuminant in store of 250
wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850 251
distributes the money sent by druggists of different cities to aid Chicago druggists after the Chicago fire 258
Reed, Col. John—commands at Fort Chartres 112
English commandant in the Illinois country, 1768 47
Renfrewshire, Scotland—mention 215
Regent of France—Fort Chartres named for the son of (the Duc de Chartres) 106
Reid, Murdoch & Co.—wholesale grocery house of, on site once occupied by Sauganash hotel, later Republican wigwam of 1860 240
Remonville, M. de—mention 58
Renard (or Fox Indians)—mention 108
Renault, Grant—at or near Peoria, see foot note 181
Renault, Philippe Francois de—African slavery introduced into the Illinois country by 107
arrives at Fort Chartres 1720 107
granted a tract of land in the Illinois country 107
purchases Guinea negroes at St. Domingo 107
Rendal, negro slave, reward offered for capture of; mention 184
Republican convention at Bloomington, 1856 227
party—first republican meeting in Schuyler county 227
party—mention 218
wigwam of 1860, on site of old Sauganash hotel, now the site of wholesale grocery house of Reid, Murdoch & Co 240
Response to address of welcome of Lieut. Gov. Northcott, by Dr. J. F. Snyder 12-15
Reuter, Henry—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Revolutionary Soldiers—monuments erected over graves of, mention 291
war—Illinois regiment of volunteers in 166-178
war—McLean (Chas.) Major in, mention 201
war—mention 18, 97, 202, 291, 294, 289
war—really ended by treaty of Greenville 49
Revolutionists, French—destroy archives at Paris; mention 45
Reynolds, John—Cerré (Jean Gabriel), mentioned by Reynolds in his history of Illinois; see foot note 275
Reynolds, Gov. John—describes visit when a child to Ft. Massac, also a later visit 50, 51
description of John McLean 197
Reynolds, John—historical writings of, mention 14
historian of Illinois, mention 103
Reynolds, Gov. John—"History of My Own Times;" quoted 114-115, 190, 196
Reynolds, John—in Legislature of Illinois at same time as John McLean; mention 196
Reynolds, Gov. John—"Life and Times" of, quoted in reference to candidates for Governor of Illinois—Edwards, Sloo, Hubbard 204
Reynolds, John—member of the first Illinois State Historical Society 13
member of standing committee of early Illinois Hist. Soc. to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
Reynolds, Gov. John—mention 222
"My Own Times," quoted; see foot note 190
"My Own Times," extracts from, on the naming of JoDaviess Co., Illinois 196
Reynolds, John—pioneer history of Illinois, mention 275
Reynolds, Gov. John—quotations from his histories of Illinois 39, 211, 212, 213
Reynolds, John—quoted on the slavery strife in Illinois 100, 101
Reynolds, Gov. John—visits Ft. Chartres twice, mention 114
Rhode Island—mention 112
Rhone River 43
Rice, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Richard, Jos.—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols., entitled to land for services 176
Richards, Dick—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Richards, Lewis—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Richardson, Wm. A. (Dick)—Representative in Illinois General Assembly from Schuyler county, friend of A. Lincoln 223, 224
Richland Creek—in Cartwright township, Sangamon county, Ill 160
Richmond, Rev. J. P.—candidate (1858) for Illinois State Senate from Schuyler county on the Democratic ticket 228

Index—Continued.

Page

Ridgely, Mrs. Chas.—ex-regent Springfield Chapter, D. A. R. 297
Rifle Regiment—mention. *See* foot note 185
three hundred soldiers of, to join Brig. Gen. Smith, mention 185
Riley, Patrick—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Rio del Norte River—mention 218
Ritchie, Dr. Henry—Chicago druggist 271
River of Mines—name given by La Seur, probably Galena river 31
Rivers of the West—highways for explorers and later for commerce 86
Riviere des Plaines—mention 164
Robilliard, Sir—mention 138, 139
Robinson, James M.—member of standing committee of early Illinois State Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
Robinson, J. M., of Carmi—mention 54
Robinson, Richard—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Rock Island, Ill.—British possession of region around Rock Island, mention 180
Brig. Gen. Smith erects a fort on Rock river at 184
Historical Society in, mention 8
location of United States Armory, mention 51
mention 293
Road Laws in Illinois—enacted during Governor Coles' administration 102
Road—Old Massac road, mention 39
Roberts, Capt. Benjamin—captain in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services 166
Roberts, Benjamin—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Roberts, Edmund, of Kaskaskia, Ill.—Canal Commissioner of Illinois 235
Roberts, Eliab—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Roberts, John—Lieut. in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services 167
Roberts, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Roberts, William—Lieut. of Ill. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services 167
Robertson, James—Lieut. in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, entitled to land for services 167
Robertson, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 174
Rocheblave, Lieut. Gov. Philip de Rastel—Chevalier de Rocheblave in command of British garrison at Kaskaskia when captured by Clark 177, 178
British commandant at Fort Gage 279
mention 280
Rochambeau, Marshal—mention 49
Rock Island, Ill.—volunteer expedition to, record of, mention; see foot note 185
Rock River—Brig. General Smith erects a fort on 183
mention 184
Rock Springs Seminary—mention 14
Rockwood & Blocki—wholesale druggists of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871 255
Rocky Mountains—LaVerendrye brothers return from discovery of, mention 276
Roe, Elizabeth—wife of Thomas Sloo, mention 202
Rogers, David—sergeant under Clark; receives land for services 174
Rogers, Capt. John—sent by Clark from Kaskaskia to Vincennes in command of a galley (boat) by Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers 178
Rogers, Capt. John—capt. in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army; receives land for services 166
Rogers, Joseph—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Rohde (A) & Co.—Retail druggists of Chicago burned out in fire of 1871 255
Rollison, William (died)—private soldier under Clark; receives land for services 174
Romeo, Ill.—branch store of Peter Pruyne & Co. at, mention 263
town near Joliet on Illinois and Michigan Canal, mention 262
Roosevelt, President Theodore—mention 233
quotation from his historical writings 45
Rosemerckle, Frederick—drug store in Chicago, mention 244
Rosenheld & Co.—Chemical Manufacturers of Chicago, 1860, mention 248
Ross, James—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ross, John—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ross, Joseph—corporal under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ross, L. W.—signs certificate of application of candidate for admission to Illinois bar 225
Rotand, Sir—mention 134, 135
"Roughing It" (book) by Mark Twain—mention 209
Ray, Julien—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Roy, M (?)—major, mention 138, 139
Royal Council in 1717 17
Royal Council—decree of 1721 17
Royal India Company—commercial company, mention 105
Rubido, Francis (died)—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Rubido, James—soldier under Clark 174
Ruddell (or Reddell) Cornelius—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Ruisseau de Pierre (Stony Creek)—mention 284, 285
Rush Medical College—Blaney (Dr. J. V. Z.) professor of chemistry in 245
founders of, list of 246
Kimberly (Dr. Edward S.) one of the founders of 246
Semple (Dr. John S.) lectures in 246
Rushville, Schuyler County, Ill.—accounts of visits to, by A. Lincoln, 1832-1858 221-233

Index—Continued.

Page

Rushville, Ill.—band, mention ... 229
mention ... 226
visited by Lincoln on Oct. 20, 1858, visited by Douglas a few days later. 228, 229
young ladies in court house disturb Mr. Lincoln's meeting; his rebuke of them ... 232
Russell & Clift—book store of, in Chicago, 1833, mention ... 241, 260
Russell, Benjamin—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 174
Russell, Prof. John—member of standing committee of the early Illinois Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois ... 14
member of the first Illinois State Historical Society ... 13
Russellville, Logan Co., Ky.—parents of John McLean located at ... 201
mention ... 211, 212
Russhare, Francis—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 174
Russia—Edward Coles, sent on diplomatic mission to ... 99
druggists of, send money to aid Chicago druggists after the fire of 1871 ... 258
Rutherford, Larkin—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 174
Ryan, Andrew—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 174
Ryan, Lazarus—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services ... 174
Sabbath—in early Illinois, laws respecting observance of, mention ... 78
Sailing vessels—lake traffic conducted in ... 242
St. Ange, M. Louis de—Godfather at baptism of child in the parish of St. Ann's ... 138, 139
St. Ange, Elizabeth—baptism of infant of, by J. Gagnon, priest ... 130, 131
St. Ange, Madame—baptism of slaves belonging to, by J. Gagnon, missionary priest of the parish of St. Anne's ... 132–133
St. Ange, M. de Captain(?)—mention ... 138–139
St. Ange de Belle Rive, Louis—French commandant in the Ills. country, 1730–1734, 1764–1765 ... 46
French officer, memory of still cherished in Illinois ... 39
went from Illinois to Ft. Du Quesne, mention ... 45
St. Ann—church in Ft. Chartres, marriage in ... 140, 141
St. Anne de Fort Chartres—parish church of Prairie du Rocher, records of ... 128–149
Jesuits build church of, mention ... 106
St. Anne's Parish—J. Gagnon—missionary priest at ... 128–149
St. Anne's Parish of Ft. Chartres—mention ... 111, 128–149
St. Brieux—parish of, mention ... 140–141
St. Charles—on the north bank of the Missouri river, mention ... 163
St. Charles Co., Mo.—negro slave's escape of from, description of, etc., reward offered for his capture ... 184
St. Charles, Ill.—branch drug store of L. M. Boyce under name of Freeman & Boyce ... 270
St. Clair, Capt. Benoist de—commands at Ft. Chartres ... 109
French commandant in the Illinois country, 1740–1743; 1749–1751 ... 46
returns to Ft. Chartres, marries the daughter of a Kaskaskia citizen ... 109
St. Clair Co., Ill—carried for Fremont in 1856 ... 83
mention ... 20, 86, 124, 181, 207, 211
Washington Co. cut off from, Jan. 2, 1818 ... 208
St. Domingo—Renault purchases Guinea negroes in ... 107
St. Genevieve, Mo.—inhabitants of, mention ... 276
mention ... 114, 185, 212
opposite Kaskaskia, a Spanish officer at, mention ... 280
postoffice at 1816 ... 188
St. Lawrence River—French colonies on, mention ... 40
mention ... 16, 17, 86, 95
St. Louis—Spanish capital of Upper Louisiana, mention ... 279
Cerré a wealthy merchant of; see foot-note ... 275
St. Louis Ex.—committee of the Illinois State Historical Society, report called for by presiding officer ... 1
St. Louis—French trading post, St. Ange de Bellerive, dies at, see foot-note ... 112
German immigrants settle around, mention ... 79
history of by Scharff, mention ... 282
(Kaskaskia) mention ... 277
Laclede establishes trading post at ... 111
St. Louis— ... 1, 6, 102, 119, 121, 150, 162, 163, 165, 179–189, 206, 276, 277, 279, 282, 284
St. Louis—metropolis of the west, mention ... 247–248
St. Louis of Illinois—letter dated at ... 284
St. Louis—prediction as to its future greatness ... 165
property in, bought by Gabriel Cerré, mention ... 283
St. Louis Republic (newspaper)—mention ... 200
St. Louis sends aid to Chicago after the fire of 1871 ... 253
St. Louis—situation of, description of ... 153, 154
Spanish expedition organized at ... 94
a Spanish village in early days ... 283
time computed necessary for journey from St. Louis to New York ... 68
St. Louis, Mo.—visited by Ferdinand Ernst ... 165
St. Louis University—Dr. D. Brainard of Chicago, accepts appointment as professor of anatomy in ... 246
St. Marie—town near mouth of Missouri river, mention ... 155
St. Mary, Baptiste—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 175
St. Michaels—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 175
St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, New Orleans—Thos. Sloo member of ... 205

Index—Continued.

Page

St. Philip—chapel of, mention....128, 129
St. Phillippe—village of, distance from Ft. Chartres.... 107
St. Philippe—village of, location of, name given by Philippe Francois de Renault.... 107
St. Pierre, Madame la Comtesse de—friend of Juchereau, influences the King of France in his favor....42, 57, 58
St. Romin, Madame Elizabeth—godmother at the baptism of a child in the parish of St. Ann's....138–139
Safford, Wm. H.—author of "Life of Blennerhassett," mention.... 60
Saline—mention.... 63
Saline on Big Muddy River—mention.... 184
Salines, U. S. Salines—bill extending lease of, mention.... 180
Salt River—mention.... 63
Saloon Building, Chicago—113 Lake street, mention.... 266
Sanders, Mrs. Geo. A.—mention.... 10
San Francisco druggists send money to aid of Chicago druggists after fire of 1871.... 258
San Francisco—mention.... 218
Sangamon Co., Ill.—gives largest majority in vote against a convention to amend the Constitution of 1818 of the State of Illinois.... 101
mention....208, 218
Sangamon County—population of, in 1840.... 119
Illinois, mention; footnote.... 160
Sangamon River—beauty and fertility of lands on; mention....159, 160
Sangamon branches (river) of.... 162
Sangamon River—entire length of unknown, etc., in 1819.... 162
Indian lands on, ceded to U. S.... 157
Indians place thankofferings in high rock near.... 116
its clear water, navigable part of the year.... 160
lands on, mention.... 158
mention....161, 162, 164
settlements and farms on.... 159
Sanlade, Alexander—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co. Vol., entitled to land for services.... 176
San Luis—Spanish form of St. Louis, mention.... 283
Sanschagrin, Francis Hennet, Le fils, godfather at baptism of child in parish of St. Ann's....140–141
Sargent, E. H.—Chicago druggist, member of committee to draft bill for Illinois Pharmacy Law.... 253
delivers address before Chicago College of Pharmacy.... 258
retail druggist of Chicago, burned out (store and labratory) in fire of 1871.... 255
Saucier, Matthew—finds box containing moulds for casting money.... 187
Saussier, Lieut. Jean B.—ancester of Dr. J. F. Snyder.... 110
French engineer, Ft. Chartres (second one), built after plans of.... 109
mention.... 110
settles in Cahokia, dies at end of 18th century; see foot note.... 109
Sauganash Hotel, Chicago—contained public bar, entertains jovial company....240, 259
kept by Mark Beaubien, the first hotel in Chicago.... 238
on site where Republican wigwam of 1860, afterwards stood now site of wholesale grocery house of Reid, Murdoch & Co.... 240
"Sauganash" Tavern—wigwam in Chicago in which Lincoln was nominated for presidency, once on site of.... 291
Saunders, Lieut. Jos.—in Ill. Regt. Vol. Clark's army.... 167
Savage, (a)—belonging to Madame St? ange, baptized by J. Gagnon, missionary priest in parish of St. Ann's....132–133
Savage, Bryan—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services.... 174
Savage, Dominick—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 175
Sawyer, Nathaniel—death of in Lake Forest, Nov. 13, 1890.... 273
in charge of retail department, Sawyer's drug store.... 273
of drug firm of Sawyer, Paige & Co., mention.... 272
Sawyer, Paige & Co., Chicago—mention.... 273
druggists and grocers in Chicago, mention.... 272
wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850.... 251
Sawyer, Dr. Sidney—advertises corn oil, what was it in an early day?.... 245
death of in Chicago, July 12, 1894.... 273
druggist in Chicago, 1839, opening of his store; advertisements, location of store....271, 272
drug stock of, sold at auction.... 273
financial crisis of 1837, does not effect.... 243
health officer of Chicago, mention.... 272
removal of business house to 70 Lake street.... 273
seventh drug store in Chicago.... 243
soda fountains introduced by, in early drug store, 1839.... 249
special partner in firm of Sawyer, Paige & Co., druggists in Chicago.... 272
Sawyer's Extract of Bark—manufactured by Sidney Sawyer, still on the market.... 272
Scammon, F.—drug store in Chicago, mention.... 244
mention.... 248
Scammon, F. & Co.—wholesale druggists Chicago, 1850.... 251

Index—Continued.

Page

Scammon, Jonathan Young—quotations from his "Revision of Illinois Laws".....216, 217, 218
Scates, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Scates, Walter Bennet—Attorney General of Illinois, 1836, sketch of..... 217
secretary second Illinois State Historical Society..... 14
Schaffer, Mr.—a farmer in the Illinois prairies, mention..... 160
Schaper, W. A.—"Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," mention, foot note..... 76
Scharff's—"History of St. Louis," quotations from.....282, 283
Schenectady, N. Y.—mention..... 240
Schloetzer, E. T.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
School—first one supported entirely by public taxation in the history of the world, located at Dedham, Mass., 1644..... 120
School Laws—of Illinois enacted during Gov. Coles administration..... 102
School Teacher—salary of the first school teacher of the first school supported entirely by public taxation was $67 per year..... 120
"Schooner Ann" (The)—mention..... 119
Schroeder, Noble—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Schuyler Citizen (The)—newspaper edited by G. W. Scripps, mention..... 229
Schuyler County, Ill.—circuit court, Lincoln practiced law in..... 224
Democratic county..... 229
Democrats of, their admiration for Peter Cartwright..... 224
early political history of, first Republican meeting, account of.... 227
Lincoln's visits to..... 221
mention..... 117
men who represented it in Illinois Legislature at Vandalia.....223, 224
represented at Beardstown Republican meeting Aug. 12, 1858..... 228
Scioto Indians—mention..... 46
Scott, Mrs. Edgar S.—mention..... 10
Scott County, Ill.—mention, foot note..... 279
Scott, John M.—quotation from his Illinois history..... 214
Scott, Julia Green (Mrs. Mathew T.)—address by.....38–64
Scott, Mrs. Mathew T.—delivers an address on Old Fort Massac before Illinois State Historical Society, January, 1903.....38–64
address of, mention, foot note..... 294
vice-president general for Illinois of the D. A. R..... 297
Scott, Gen. Winfield—arrives at Fort Dearborn with troops, who bring cholera.....239, 240
Scotland—mention..... 201
Scrip—currency, canal scrip, State Auditor's scrip, mention..... 242
Scripps, G. W.—attended first Republican meeting ever held in Rushville..... 227
Scripps, G. W.—school house of, at Rushville, Ill., mention..... 227
editor of the Schuyler Citizen, mention..... 229
mention..... 228
Scripps, Hal—house of, at Rushville, mention..... 227
Scripps, James E.—editor of the Detroit News, mention..... 227
gives account of first Republican meeting ever held in Schuyler Co., Ills..... 227
Scripps, John Locke—appointed by Mr. Lincoln, postmaster of Chicago..... 232
author of first biography of Lincoln, Mr. Scripps' estimate of Lincoln..... 233
author of first life of Lincoln, his friendship for Lincoln, his estimate of him, book reprinted by daughter of Mr. Scripps'.....232, 233
editor Chicago Press and Tribune.....232, 233
Scupham, W. C..... 251
Seare, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Searay, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Sears, John, Jr.—mention..... 248
with Edwin R. Bay buys drug business of L. M. Boyce, Chicago..... 271
Sears & Bay—drug firm of Chicago..... 244
successors to drug business of L. M. Boyce..... 271
Sears & Smith—wholesale druggists Chicago..... 251
Sebastian, Judge B.—visited Ft. Massac..... 40
Secretary of War of the U. S., Washington, D. C.—mention, see foot note..... 185
"Sectional Forces in the History of Illinois"—address before the Illinois State Historical Society, Jan. 1903, by Evarts B. Greene, Ph. D.....65–83
Sela, Mr. and family—met by Benj. VanCleve, mention..... 63
Semple, James—Attorney General of State of Illinois 1833, sketch of.....215–216
Senate of the State of Ills.—president *pro tempore* of 1903 (Hon. John McKenzie) mention 31
Senate of the State of Ill.—reference to presiding officer of..... 15
Senator's Ball (The)—account of.....73–74
Seneca Indians—method of gathering up crude oil; mention..... 251
Sennitt, Richard—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Sester, John—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co. when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due..... 177
Sester, Michael—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co. when enlisted, miles to go home..... 177
"Seven Years War"—mention..... 111
Severidge, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Setzer, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174

Index—Continued.

Page

Shank, Jacob—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Shank, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Shannon, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 175
Sharlock, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 175
Shaw, John C., of Boston, goes to Chicago, becomes one of the drug firm of Clarke & Co. 263
Shawnee Indians—Chiefs invited by French to visit Montreal ... 43
Shawnee River—early name for Cumberland river ... 39, 44
Shawneetown, Ill.—citizens of, give notice through newspapers of Frankfort, Ky., Kaskaskia and Nashville, Tenn., that they will apply to the Legislature of Illinois for the establishment of a bank ... 182
commercial and political rival of Kaskaskia, mention ... 192
Gazette, mention ... 195
Gen. Lafayette visits, entertainment for, etc ... 102
"Illinois Emigrant," newspaper published in 1817, by John M. Eddy; mention ... 200
Illinois Gazette, newspaper of, mention ... 190
inscription on the vault of John McLean at, mention ... 198
John McLean emigrates to ... 192
John McLean, death of, at, Oct 14, 1830 ... 197
John McLean practices law in ... 193, 201
mention ... 54, 150, 198, 199, 217, 219
proposed early railroad to ... 66
stone bank building erected in, by the State bank still standing ... 182
Thomas Sloo, Jr., removes to ... 202
Shawneytown (Shawneetown)—post route from, mention ... 180
Sheenan's, (J. W.)—Life of Stephen A. Douglas, reference to; see foot note ... 82
Shelby County, Ill.—mention ... 220
Shelby, Isaac—Governor of Kentucky, mention ... 48
Shelbyville, Ill.—mention ... 25
proposed early railroad to ... 66
"Sheldon Thompson" (The)—early lake schooner, mention ... 239
Shepherd, George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Shepherd, Peter—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Sherman, Henry—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 ... 255
Shields, Gen. James—one of the committee on resolutions and amendments at second attempt to organize Illinois State Historical Society ... 14
Shipman & Goodrich—wholesale druggists, Chicago, 1850 ... 251
Ship Island—Boisbriant (Pierre Duqué de), arrives at ... 105
"La Duchesse de Noailles," French frigate, arrives at ... 105
Ship, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Shoal Creek in Illinois—mention ... 157, 158, 162
Shoemaker, Leonard—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Siberia—mention ... 99
Siburn, Christopher—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Siddall, J. J.—mention ... 251
Sidney, Sir Philip—appointed Governor of Flushing by Queen Elizabeth in 1585, mention 201
Signs—used by early drug stores in Chicago, mention ... 244
Sigonier, Francis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 175
Silam, James—child of, baptized ... 145
Silam, Joseph—son of James Silam, baptism of ... 145
Silam, Sieur—signs church record as witness ... 145
signer of church record with J. Gagnon, priest, mention ... 130, 131
Silam, Sir—mention ... 134, 135
Sills, Samuel—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Silver Creek, Ill.—proposed early railroad to ... 66
mention ... 157, 158, 159
Silver—found in JoDaviess county, Ill., but not in paying quantities, hopes for its future development ... 32
Simson, Tos—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when discharged, when enlisted, mileage, pay of ... 177
Sioux Indians—country of, mention ... 57
treaty of peace between the United States and, mention ... 182
"Sketches of a Tour in the Western Country," by F. Cuming—contains first published account of massacre at Fort Massac ... 41
"Sketches of the West," by James Hall—mention ... 114
Skinner, Henry—physician, with rank of surgeon's mate, at Fort Massac ... 61
Slack, Wm.—in Capt. Bowman's company, discharged and re-enlisted in other of Clark's companies, foot note ... 177
in Capt. Jos. Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due ... 177
private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services ... 174
Slade, Hon. Charles—and wife, Mary D. Slade, donate tract of land at Carlyle for county seat of Clinton county ... 202
appointed United States marshal by President Jackson ... 208
builds first mill in Carlyle, 1829 ... 207
candidate for Congress ... 208
Carlyle, Ill., founded by ... 207

Index—Continued.

Page

Slade, Hon. Charles—death of, from cholera, mention..... 209
elected to Congress from the State of Illinois..... 208
elected to Legislature of Illinois, 1820 and 1826..... 208
family of, mention..... 209
forms partnership with Hubbard, first merchant in Carlyle 201
his course as member of United States Congress..... 209
his defeat of Gov. Edwards for Congress brings him into prominence, mention..... 209
leaves large estate much encumbered, litigation over..... 210
marries daughter of John Kain, probably in 1819..... 207
native of England..... 207
paper on, in "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois," contributed to transactions of Illinois State Historical Soc. by Dr. J.F.Snyder..207-210
personal appearance of, little known..... 207
purchases land of John Hill..... 207
Slade, Mrs. Charles—widow of Chas. Slade, her share of his estate, marries E. S. Dennis. 210
Slade, Charles A.—son of Charles Slade, died at Santa Fé in Mexican war..... 209
Slade, Mrs. Charles A.—daughter of Judge Sidney Breese, mention..... 209
Slade, James Alfred—division superintendent of overland stage company..... 209
noted desperado in Montana, hung by vigilance committee..... 209
youngest son of Charles Slade, made famous by Mark Twain in "Roughing It"..... 209
Slade, Mary D.—wife of Charles Slade, donates tract of land for Carlyle as county seat of Clinton county..... 208
Slade, Richard—brother of Charles Slade..... 207
Slade, Thomas—brother of Charles Slade..... 207
parents of, settle in Alexandria, Va..... 207
Slade, Virginia—daughter of Charles Slade, mention..... 209
Slaughter, George—lieutenant, received land as soldier under Clark..... 166
private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Slaughter, Lieut. James—in Ill. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
Slaughter, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 174
Slaughter, Lieut. Joseph—in Ill. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
Slaughter, Lawrence—ensign in Ill. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services..... 167
Slave—baptism of child of..... 136-137
female, belonging to Baron, burial of..... 142-143
of M. le Chevalier Deberlet, burial at Prairie du Rocher..... 130-131
infant, interred, mention..... 136-137
Slave Holders—mention..... 97
Slave, Negress—named Charlotte, baptized..... 138-139
Slave, Negro—infidel, belonging to Madame St. Ange, baptized by J. Gagnon, missionary priest of the parish of St. Anne..... 132-133
named David, offer of reward for in the Western Intelligencer..... 182
named Rendal, reward offered for capture of..... 184
Slave—offer of reward for runaway slave, name not given;—in the Western Intelligencer 182
runaway negro slave, claimed by Josiah McClanahan..... 182
Slaves—freed by Edward Coles, before entering the State of Illinois, gifts to, protection of, etc..... 101
indentured slaves in Illinois..... 99
in Illinois, number of by census of 1820..... 76
in Illinois territory when it was ceded to the United States in 1784..... 99
Kentucky negro, reward offered for capture of..... 185
large reward offered for capture of Tennessee negro..... 185
mention..... 97
of Jean Gabriel Cerré, record of burial of, at Kaskaskia..... 288
Slavery—all absorbing topic of debate in Illinois..... 24, 192
Birkbeck, Morris, opinion on..... 103
Coles, Edward, opinion on..... 98
Congress of the United States passes ordinance on..... 100
contest a bitter one in Illinois..... 100, 101
contest of 1824, Reynolds, (John;) extracts from "My Own Times"..... 194
convention of 1824, defeat of slavery project, mention..... 203
contest in 1824, McLean on the pro-slavery side..... 194
debates, between Cook and McLean; lack of newspaper accounts, etc..... 193
in Illinois, attempts to introduce it, efforts made to defeat it, etc..... 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96
in N. W. territory, plan of Thomas Jefferson to exclude it..... 88, 89, 90
mention..... 11, 154
paragraph omitted in the Declaration of Independence, cause given..... 98
prohibition of in the territory ceded by France to the United States..... 22
provision against, not in the Constitution of Illinois, 1818..... 22
provision against in Jefferson's plan..... 19
verdict of the people of Illinois upon..... 24
Sloo, Albert Gallatin—brother of Thomas Sloo, mention..... 206
mention..... 202
Sloo & Co.—firm in Alton, Ill., mentioned in early Illinois histories..... 206
Sloo, James C.—mention..... 202
merchant in Alton, Ill., mention..... 206

Index—Continued.

Page

Sloo, Thomas—builds the first house in Limestore, Ky., where Maysville now stands.... 202
grandfather of Thomas Sloo, Jr., soldier in the Revolutionary war..... 201
marriage of, to Elizabeth Roe, mention..... 202
one of the earliest residents of Washington, Ky..... 202
son of Thomas Sloo, Jr..... 205
Sloo, Mrs. Thomas—death of Jan. 17, 1901..... 205
Sloo, Thomas Jr.—born at Washington, Ky., April 5, 1790..... 202
boyhood of, education of..... 202
children of..... 205
city treasurer of New Orleans, member of board of education of New Orleans..... 205
death of, in New Orleans, Jan. 17, 1879..... 205
defeated for governor of Illinois by Ninian Edwards..... 201
elected county surveyor of Hamilton county, Ill..... 203
elected to the State Senate of Illinois to represent Hamilton and Jefferson counties..... 205
genealogy of.....201-202
marriage of, to Miss Harriet Irwin July 14, 1814..... 202
member of first canal board, Illinois and Michigan Canal..... 203
member of St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal church, New Orleans..... 205
paper on contributed in "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois," to the Illinois State Historical Society transactions by J. F. Snyder....201-206
personal appearance of..... 205
prominence among public men of Ill..... 203
removes from Cincinnati to Shawneetown, Ill..... 202
removes to New Orleans, engages in business..... 204
resides for a time in Havana, Cuba..... 204
returns to New Orleans, chosen president of the Sun Mutual Insurance Co..... 205
second marriage of, to Miss Rebecca Smith Findlay, Aug. 25, 1819.... 202
State Senator of Illinois, mention..... 201
supported by the Jackson party for Governor of Illinois..... 204
supports the convention scheme at the State election in 1824..... 203
third marriage of, to Miss Maria Francis Campbell, May 24, 1849..... 205
urged by his friends to enter the contest for Governor of Illinois..203, 204
vote cast for, for Governor of Illinois..... 204
Sloo, William—grandfather of Thomas Sloo, Jr., mention..... 201
soldier in revolutionary war.....201, 202
Smelser's Ferry—mention..... 184
Smith, Brigadier General—erects a fort at Rock river..... 184
Smith, David—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smith, James D.—clerk for Sawyer, Paige & Co., Chicago, 1855..... 273
Smith, John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smith, John A. (probably a Virginia state official)—signs Virginia document No. 32; list of soldiers under Geo. R. Clark, foot note..... 177
Smith, Joseph—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smith, Josiah—gunner with Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smith, Randall—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smith, T. C.—author of "Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest" reference to, foot note..... 81
Smith, Theophilus W.—member of first board of Illinois and Michigan Canal Commis'rs 203
Smith, William—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Smithers (or Smothers) John—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services. 174
Smithland—near Fort Massac, mention..... 53
Smock, Henry—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Snellock, Thomas—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Snively, Mrs. E. A.—mention..... 10
Snow, George—private under Clark; entitled to land for services..... 174
Snow, George W.—Came to Chicago in company with Philo Carpenter..... 240
Snyder, Dr. J. F.—addresses the Illinois State Historical Society on the subject of an amendment to the Constitution of the Society..... 2
appointed on Committee of Illinois State Historical Society to confer with Illinois Commission to Louisiana Purchase Exposition..... 5
article on Fort Chartres, reference to..... 114
assists at reception given to Illinois State Historical Society..... 9
chairman of program committee..... 2
reads report of committee..... 8
chairman of the committee on publication..... 7
elected president of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1903..... 4
first vice president Illinois State Historical Society..... 1
Ft. Chartres, booklet on, mention, see foot note..... 116
mention..... 9
paper on Charles Slade in "Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois" contributed to the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, by..... 207-210
paper on Thomas Sloo, Jr., contributed in "Forgotten Statesman of Illinois," to Illinois State Historical Society Transactions.....201-206

Index—Continued.

Page

Snyder, Dr. J. F.—presides at the fourth annual meeting Illinois State Historical Society 1
reads memorial address on deceased members of the Illinois State Historical Society....2, 3
reads resolutions of sympathy for Judge David McCulloch.... 2
response of, to address of welcome of Lieut. Gov. W. A. Northcott....12-15
Saussier (or Saucier.) Lieut. Jean B., ancestor of.... 110
Snyder, Dr. J. F., as "J. F. S."—signs explanatory notes....177, 178
signs foot-notes....160, 161, 176, 275
Sobey, Joseph—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871.... 255
Soda Fountains and Soda Water—first introduced into the drug stores of Chicago.... 249
Sonschagrin—baptism of negress slave belonging to, mention....138, 139
mentioned as witness in church record....148, 149
Solon—law giver of antiquity, mention.... 18
Soulard, Don Antonio—surveyor of Upper Louisiana.... 284
Soulard street, St. Louis, Mo.—mention.... 283
South Boston, Halifax Co., Va.—mention.... 217
South Carolina—Home of Theodosia Burr, mention.... 59
mention....201, 205
Southern Indians—first heard the gospel preached at Fort Massac.... 39
South Water street, Chicago—Philo Carpenter purchases lots on, price paid for, etc.... 241
Soverins, Ebenezer—sergeant under Clark, receives land for services.... 175
Sowers, Frederick—private soldier under Clark, receives land for services.... 175
Spaniards—Manana policy of (procrastination) mention.... 279
mention.... 201
Spain—by treaty with United States 1795, grants United States free navigation of Mississippi river.... 49
claims Illinois country by right of conquest.... 94
owned for a short time territory afterward called Northwest territory....40, 41
her possessions in America at close of revolution.... 94
king of, exchanges with France his American territory for kingdom of Etruria.. 94
king of, to furnish money and ammunition for expedition to invade the Illinois country.... 49
mention.... 47
possessions of, in Louisiana.... 40
sympathized with United States in revolution, later unfriendly.... 94
to supply funds to conspirators....48, 49
Spanish Dons—mention.... 275
Spanish King—mention.... 276
Spanish Soldiers—said to have occupied Fort Massac for a short time.... 41
Spanish Territory—mention.... 112
Spanish Women—at Fort Massac.... 40
Sparks, Edwin E., Ph. D.—addresses the Illinois State Historical Society on subject of the marking of historic spots in Illinois.... 9
chairman of committee appointed by the Illinois State Historical Society for marking historic spots in Illinois....9, 293
Spencer, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 174
Speers, Jacob—in Capt. Bowman's company promoted to sergeant, appears twice on pay roll, but is probably same person; see foot note.... 177
in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, mileage, rations due, (see foot note, also).... 177
Spensley, Hon. William—delivers address before Illinois State Historical Society Jan. 1903, entitled, "The Mines of Jo Daviess County".... 31-37
Spoon River—mention.... 164
Spotswood, Col. of Virginia—got law passed forming a company to trade with Ohio Indians.... 40
Spillman, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services.... 175
Spring Creek—in Illinois, mention....159, 160
Springfield & Beardstown—canal company, mention.... 65
Springfield & Jacksonville Railroad—mention.... 67
Springfield, Ill.—constitutional convention of 1847, held at.... 24
Springfield, Ladies of—thanks of the Illinois State Historical Society extended to, mention.... 9
Springfield, Ill.—mention....12, 81, 215, 224, 225, 229
newspapers of, mention.... 229
place of meeting when organization was perfected for Illinois State Historical Society.... 14
Pierre Menard, monument erected to, in grounds of State House.... 290
Springfield Journal, mention.... 226
Springer, William M.—secretary of Illinois constitutional convention of 1862, mention... 27
Sproat, G.—early schoolmaster of Chicago, letter of in Chicago Tribune, quoted....236, 237
Stahl, E. L.—retail druggist of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871.... 255
Starks, Major of the U. S. A.—drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the Mississippi river, mention.... 188
Starved Rock—mention.... 87
State Bank of Illinois—branch of, in Chicago, mention.... 242
Chicago branch of opened in December, 1835, failed in 1837.... 242
McLean's protest against bill to incorporate.... 194
stone bank at Shawneetown, erected by the State bank still standing.... 182

Index—Continued.

Page

State Capital of Illinois—mention 12
State Historical Library— 3
State Historical Society at Indianapolis 5
State House, Springfield, Ill.—mention of map in 31
painting on the walls of one of the corridors, mention 97
State Library Room, Illinois Capitol Building—fourth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society held in 1
State Library Room, Illinois Capitol Building, Springfield, Illinois—
session of the fourth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society held in ... 1
State Line, Ill.—proposed early railroad to 66
State Officials of Illinois—mention 12
"State of the British and French Colonies in North America"—published London, 1755, quotation from 40
State Sovereignty—mention 11
Steamboat Explosion—account of one at Wheeling, Va., in the "Western Intelligencer". 185
Steamboats—on the Mississippi river, 1819, described 153
Stearns, Marcus C.—clerk in drug store of Peter Pruyne & Co., Chicago 263
Stebbins & Reed—drug firm located in Chicago in 1845 243-244
mention 248
prescription books of, in good state of preservation, saved from the Chicago fire 249
Stephenson, Hon. Benj.—extracts from letter of, giving an account of bills passed in Congress, list of 180
Stephenson, Benj.—report of in "Western Intelligencer", mention 184
statement to his constituents published in the "Western Intelligencer" 183
Stephenson, Hon. Benj.—territorial delegate to Congress, extracts from letter of to a friend in Kaskaskia 180
Stephenson, John—sergeant under Clark; enitled to land for services 175
Stephenson, Samuel—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 169
"Stubblefield Bill" (The)—mention 300, 301
Stubblefield, Hon. Geo. W.—Illinois State Senator from McLean county, mention 300
Sturgess, Benjamin—school of at Prairie Du Rocher, Ill 187
Sturtevant, Mr 228
Stevenson, Hon. Adlai E.—delivers the annual address before the Illinois State Historical Society, "Constitutional conventions and constitutions of Illinois" 16-30
mention 201
Stevenson, Hon. Andrew—minister to Great Britain, mention, first American ever given the freedom of London 98
Steward, John F.—president of the Maramech Society of Kendall county, marks historic spot 290
president Maramech Historical Society, mention 4, 7
Stewart, Alphonso—killed in duel by Wm. Bennett 213, 214
Stewart, Ethelbert—"Notes for an Industrial History of Illinois", address before Illinois State Historical Society, January, 1903 118-121
mention 9
Stewart, Dr. J. J.—mention 249
Stillman Valley Times—mention 7
Stirling, Capt. Thos.—English commandant in the Illinois country, 1766 47
descended Ohio river from Ft. Pitt, and accepted surrender of Ft. Massac 46
St. Ange de Bellerive, surrenders Ft. Chartres to 112
Stoball Thomas—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 174
Stock (cattle)—early Illinois laws relating to 73
Stock (drug stock)—kept by the early druggists of Chicago, list of, etc 241
Stoddard, Maj. Amos—describes Ft. Chartres 113
died at Ft. Meigs, Ohio, in 1813; see foot note 113
Stoddard Fort—Aaron Burr arrested at 40
Stone, Manning & Co.—firm at Alton, Ill., borrows large sum of money from State bank to attempt to corner output of lead mines at Galena 206
Stony Brook 285
Stony Point—recapture of from the British, July 16, 1779; mention 202
Storey, Wilbur F.—editor of Chicago Times, formerly a druggist; editorial on incompetent persons employed in drug stores, etc 252-253
Stowe, Harriet Beecher—mention 104
Strode, Samuel—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Stuvé, Dr. B.—makes amendment to motion on discussion of papers and addresses in meeting of Illinois State Historical Society 3
Stuvé, Miss Mollie C.—mention 10
Sugar Creek, in Illinois—mention 157, 158, 159, 160
Sulphide of Zinc—mention 35
Sulphur—its commercial value 36
Sun Mutual Insurance Co. of New Orleans—Thos. Sloo, Jr., chosen president of 205
Supreme Court Room, Ill. Capitol Bldg—session of Ill. State Hist. Soc. held in 9
Swan (or Swain), Lieut.—assistant military agent at Fort Massac 60
Swedish Settlers in Chicago—first one said to have been Oscar C. Lange, a clerk for Peter Pruyne & Co 263
Sweeney, Chas. H.—drove with A. Lincoln, from Mt. Sterling to Rushville, Ill., 1858 229

Index—Continued.

Page

Sweeney, Jos. W.—introduced Mr. Lincoln at Rushville, Ill., meeting 230
Switzerland—druggists of, send money to aid Chicago druggists after the fire of 1871 258
Sworden, Jonathan—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Syndic, Spanish Civil Officer—Gabriel Cerré appointed syndic in St. Louis 283
Syndics of St. Louis—their official duties 283
Tablet—McLean Memorial Tablet, cost of, description of, placing of, etc., in McLean county court house, Bloomington, Ill 190
Tailor—employed by the American Fur Company in Illinois, pay of 119
Taliaferro, Richard C.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Talmadge, Mr.—member of Congress from New York, antagonizes resolutions on the admission of Illinois as a State 22
Tanner, John R.—Governor of Illinois, United States marshal 123
Tanner, Mrs. John R.—mention 10
Tarbell, Ida M.—"Life of Lincoln," quotation from 223
Taylor, Abraham—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 175
Taylor, Benjamin—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 175
Taylor, Edward—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 175
Taylor, Capt. Isaac—Illinois Regt. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services 166
Taylor, James—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 175
Taylor, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tecumseh—probably hunted buffalo near Fort Massac 39
"Te Deum"—chanting of 17
Temple, Dr. John S.—lectures on chemistry, etc., 1840, mention 246
Tennessee—Indians of, mention 283
Tennessee—mention 56, 276
Tennessee Negro—large reward offered for capture of 185
Tennessee River—formerly called Cherokee 39, 44
settlers on, mention 49
Tennessee Rivers—mention 56, 57
Territorial Legislature at Kaskaskia—Illinois applies through, for admission into the Union 20, 21
Col. Pierre Menard chosen as president of the council 188
Dr. George Fisher, speaker of the House 188
Territorial Militia—see foot note 185
rangers from Illinois and Indiana, payment secured from the U. S. government for 183
Texas—annexation of, mention of 78
Thayer, Miss Maude—mention 10
Thomas, Edward—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Thomas, Frederick—advertises for information of his brother, describes him 265
fourth druggist in Chicago, opening of his store, account of business 243, 264, 265
list of goods offered for sale by him 264-265
Thomas, Jesse B.—attitude on slavery 22
Thomas, Jesse B., Jr.—Attorney General of Illinois, 1835, sketch of 216-217
one of the committee on resolutions and amendments at second attempt to organize Illinois State Historical Society 14
president of territorial convention 21
prominently connected with slavery discussions 22
Senator from the State of Illinois 22
Territorial judge of Illinois 22
Thomas, Wm.—member of standing committee of early Illinois Historical Society to assist in collecting data of Illinois 14
Thompson, James—canal surveyor, laid out town site of Chicago, 1830 235
Thompson's Bank note reporter, mention 242
Thompson, William—corporal under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Thoorington, Joseph—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Thornton, Anthony—sole survivor of the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1847 25
Thurston, John—cornet in Ill. Vols. Clark's army, entitled to land for services 167
Ticonderoga—mention 39
Tiffany, Miss Mary—thanks of the society extended to for music 9
Tilden—druggist, mention 270
Tillis, Griffin—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tippecanoe—battle of, mention 196
Tipton, Capt. Abraham—Ill. Regt. Vols. Clark's army, entitled to land for services 166
Tisne, Capt. Du—French temporary commandant in the Illinois country, 1725-1726 46
"Tjörnoir," Dubois—mention 140-141
Todd, C. B.—author of "The True Aaron Burr," mention 59
Todd, Col. John—mention 287
order of, to Gabriel Cerré, mention in foot note 275
Virginian commandant in the Illinois country, official letter of 282
Todd, Capt. Robert—Ill. Regt. Vols. Clark's army, receives land for services 166
Todd, Thomas—executors of, advertise to sell homestead of 181
Tolley, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tollman, King & Co.—wholesale druggists of Chicago, amount of annual business, loss by fire, insurance, etc 255
wholesale druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Tolly, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tompson, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Topeka (Kansas) Free Soilers—mention 219
Toulouse—private soldier in Capt. Charlovilla's Co. Vols., entitled to land for services .. 176

Index—Continued.

Page.

Tourtelot, George W.—clerk in drug store of Dr. Sawyer, Chicago, 1851 273
Tow, Pres.—private soldier in Capt. Charloville's Co. Vols., entitled to land for services. 176
"Township Government in Illinois"—article by M. H. Newell, reference to, foot-note 81
Trader—in employ of American Fur Co. in the Ills. pay of 119
Trailer, Archibald and William—accused of murder of an old man (Fisher) anecdote of, trial of 218
Transylvania University, Ky.—mention 216
Trantham, Martin—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
"Travels in Illinois in 1819"—by Ferdinand Ernst 150–165
Traylar Henry—Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Treaty of Greenville—Aug. 3, 1795, real ending of Revolutionary War 49
Treaty of Paris, 1763—its effects on the development of Illinois 88
Treaty of Paris—terms of, lands ceded by French, etc 46
Treaty of Paris, 1783—its influence on the development of Illinois 88, 94
Treaty of 1795 between Spain and United States secures free navigation of Mississippi river, ends contentions in the west 49
Treaty of Vincennes—Aug. 13, 1803 between United States and Kaskaskia Indians 50–51
Tremont House, Chicago—mention 238, 263, 271
Tremont, Ill.—proposed early railroad to 66
Trent, Beverley—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Triplett, Pettis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Trois Rivieres—Canada, home of the Lesueurs, mention 282
Troy, N. Y.—mention 240, 260
"True Aaron Burr (The)"—by C. B. Todd, quotations from, ... 59
Tucker, John R.—of Virginia, mention 220
Trudeau, Mr. Zenon, Lieut Gov. of Louisiana—mention 285
Trumbull County, Ohio—mention 219
Trumbull, Lyman—anti-Nebraska Democrat, mention 83
anti-slavery colleague of Douglas in Senate United States 82
gives reception instead of the usual senatorial ball, when elected U. S. Senator from Illinois 74
Judge of the Illinois State Supreme Court, mention 217
sent to U. S. Senate by vote of Northern Illinois counties 91
Turney, Elias T.—Lincoln signs recommendation for admission of to Illinois bar 225
Turney, James—elected Attorney General of the State of Illinois 1823, sketch of 214
Turpin, Richard (killed)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tuttle, Nicholas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tygard, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Tyler, President John—mention 211
Tyler, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
"Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet Beecher Stowe—its influence, mention 104
Underhill, James—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Union County, Ill.—mention 27
Union Jack—English flag, mention 96
Uniontown, Pa.—mention 215
United States Armory—to be built on some western waters, board of army officers recommended Fort Massac 51
United States—becomes owner of western territory, including Illinois 88
buys Louisiana Territory of France 94, 95, 96
United States Congress—bankruptcy act passed by 1842 243
bills passed for the territory of Illinois, Benjamin Stephenson letter on, extracts from 180
committee of, propound questions to Jean Gabriel Cerré 286, 287
answers of Mr. Cerré 287, 288
Daniel P. Cook elected to twice, 1820, 1824 193
Daniel P. Cook defeated for re-election to 195
John McLean elected to, term of December, 1818, to March, 1819. 193
reserves rights to lands on the Mississippi river, including Ft. Chartres and its buildings 113
United States Department of Labor, mention 118
United States Dispensatory—mention 246
United States Government—failure of, to secure free navigation of the Mississippi river, cause of dissatisfaction of settlers 40
United States Flag—adopted June 14, 1777, mention 58
United States House of Representatives—votes for President by states, John Quincy Adams elected, mention 195
United States—Illinois becomes a part of, mention 18
United States Laws—act for the relief of the late P. Maxwell and Hugh Maxwell of Kaskaskia, mention 186
printed in columns of the Western Intelligencer, 1816, mention ... 179
United States—mention 289
Military Academy founded by Major Jonathan Williams 50
Pharmacopœias, mention 245
Secretary of War, mention 51
Senators, customs in celebration of elections of in Illinois 73, 74
United States State Department—Jean Gabriel Cerré's replies to questions of Congressional committee, in archives of 288
treaties of peace with the Sioux Indians, mention 182
Urbana, Ill.—meeting of the sub-committee of the Ill. commission to the La. Ex., at 1
State University of Illinois at, mention 5

Index—Continued.

Page

Ure's Dictionary—mention..... 267
Ursins, Marc Antoine de la Loire des—mention..... 107
Valley Forge, mention..... 289
Van Buren—Democrats in Illinois..... 81
Van Buren, Martin—President of the United States, mention..... 81
Vance, Thos. H.—in Capt. Jos. Bowman's Co., when enlisted, when discharged, mileage, rations due..... 177
Van Cleve, Benj.—journal of (1794) gives details of rebuilding of Fort Massac, mention.. 48
journal of, visits Fort Massac and vicinity.....62-64
journal, mention and foot note..... 48
quarrels with Major Thos. Doyle.....63, 64
quotation from journal of..... 41
Vandalia—Capital of Illinois, mention.....11, 14, 223, 224
Ferdinand Ernst and Chas. Reavise the first to build in..... 163
mention.....216, 217, 223
plan of the town, sale of lots in, situation of..... 163
platting and laying out of the town site of.....157, 158
proposed early railroad to..... 66
Vandalia, Ill.—second meeting to organize State Historical Society held at..... 13
State Capital, mention..... 14
to become seat of government in the new State, mention..... 163
Vanderburg, A. C.—retail druggist, burned out in the Chicago fire of 1871..... 255
Van Schaack, Stevenson & Reed—wholesale druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
wholesale druggists of Chicago, amount of annual business, loss by fire, insurance, etc..... 256
Van Voorhis, Dr. Isaac—surgeon at Fort Dearborn, killed in massacre of 1812..... 238
Vaudreuil, M. de—governor general of Canada, calls Fort Massac, Fort "Massiac"..... 45
Veale, Peter—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Vermilion River—mention..... 164
Vermont—mention..... 291
Versailles, France—official letter dated at palace of..... 57
palace of, mention..... 42
Viaduct, Ill.—proposed early railroad to..... 66
"Vigilante" (The)—ship of the Western Company arrives at Dauphin Island..... 105
Villard, Isaac—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Villiers, Francis, (killed)—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Villiers, Jumonville de—killed in the skirmish at Little Meadows, Pa., mention..... 111
Villiers, Neyon de—French commandant in the Illinois country, 1760-1764..... 46
commands at Ft. Chartres..... 111
Vincennes, Indiana—Albert Gallatin Sloo, wealthy farmer of, mention..... 206
American flag, carried by George Rogers Clark at conquest of.....58, 59
conquest of, mention..... 38
mention 20, 22, 50, 51, 63, 176, 180, 209, 281
post route to, mention..... 188
seat of government of Indiana territory..... 20
Vincennes Post—capture of by George Rogers Clark, mention..... 178
Vincenne (or Vincennes) Sieur de—joins D'Artaguette at the third Chickasaw bluff, mention 108
Vincennes—treaty of, mention.....50, 51
Vinegar Hill Mines—JoDaviess county, Ill.—statistics of shipment of lead ore from..... 34
Virginia Assembly—act of, allowing bounty land to Clark's volunteers, made no special provisions for the officers..... 176
grants land to revolutionary soldiers under Clark; act confirmed by United States government, list of names of soldiers and lands allotted.....166-178
Virginia—cession to the general government of lands of N. W. territory, etc..... 18
claimed western territory won by George Rogers Clark; cedes it to United States..... 88
Clark's soldiers, Virginia state troops, mention.....58, 166-178
document No. 32, signed by John H. Smith, report of soldiers under Clark, see foot note..... 177
code of honor, mention..... 102
Edward Coles' departure from, mention..... 97
house of delegates; lands ceded for the common benefit of the United States. 18
house of delegates of, mention..... 18
Illinois originally a part of, mention..... 99
mention 215
militia, mention.....111, 113
Patrick Henry, governor of, mention..... 18
Virginia City, Madison County, Montana—mention..... 209
Virginia Resolutions—inspired and probably written by Thomas Jefferson..... 11
Virginian Soldiers—mention.....166-178, 275
Voushiner, Thomas—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Vocke, Wm.—elected third vice president Illinois State Historical Society for 1903..... 4
Voyageurs—mention..... 275
Wabash Country—mention..... 108
interpreter of American Fur Co., at, pay of..... 119

Index—Continued.

Page

Wabash River—mention 43, 63, 86, 90, 153, 163, 180, 278
salt wells on 119
trade on, mention 47
traversed by French between Quebec and French posts in Mississippi Valley, as a shorter route than by the Illinois river 40
Waddington, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Waggoner, Peter (died)—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Walcott, Edward—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago, death of 271
Walker & Mann—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871 255
Walker, Geo. E.—son of P. H. Walker, has letters of his father's, of historic interest ..224, 225
Walker, J. D.—letter of to J. H. Burnham on John McLean 200–201
Walker, Rev. Jesse—accused of bringing politics into pulpit 187
pioneer Methodist minister, mention 186
Walker, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Walker, Col. J. V.—of Logan county, Ky., mention 200
Walker, Rev. M. E.—mention 186
Walker, P. H.—judge of Illinois courts 224
Wallace, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Wallace, Joseph, M. A.—address before the Illinois State Historical Society January, 1903; "Fort De Chartres, its origin, growth and decline" 105–117
Wallace, Mr. Joseph—historical paper on Fort Chartres, mention, foot note 292
Wallace, Joseph—quotation from his historical writings 45
Wallace, Mrs. Joseph—mention 10
Waller, Edward—mention 202
Walls, Major Geo.—received land as soldier under Clark 166
Walls, Lieut. Thos.—in Ill. Regt. Vols. Clark's army, receives land for services 167
Walters, Barnabay—in Capt. Joseph Bowman's company, when enlisted, when discharged, miles to go home, rations due 177
Walters, Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Wampum, American Fur Co.—trade of in, rates of, etc 119
War Department, Washington, D. C.—mention, foot note 185
War Department—official records of, mention 38
record divisions of, office of chief of engineers, mention 38
Ward, Lewis—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Ward, Thos.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Warlich, Louis—drug store of, in Chicago, mention 244
War of the Rebellion—mention 34–35
War of the Revolution—mention 19, 88
Warren & Wheat—law firm of Quincy, Ill 122
Warren, Calvin A—of Quincy, mention 224
Warren, Ohio—mention 219
Warren, Wheat & Hamilton—law firm Quincy, Ill 123
Warrior's Island—near Vincennes, mention 59
Warsaw, Ill.—proposed early railroad to 66
Washburne, E. B.—compares Edward Coles to John the Baptist 101
describes Edward Coles 98
Washburne, Elihu B.—mention 80
sketch of Edward Coles, mention, see foot note 97
Washburne, Hon. E. B.—sketch of John McLean, prepared for Chicago Historical Society, extracts from 191
quoted as to prominent early settlers of Illinois: Cook, McLean and Mills 192
quotations from his "Life of Gov. Edward Coles" 75, 77
quoted 99
Washington, Bourbon County, Ky.—mention 202
Washington County, Ill.—organized from St. Clair county, Jan. 2, 1818 208
Washington, D. C.—mention 195, 209, 273
war department of, mention, see foot note 185
Washington, Geo.—issues proclamation warning the people of the U. S. against unlawful project to invade Spanish possessions 48
issues special order (1794) that Fort Massac be rebuilt 40, 47, 48
Washington, Geo.—mention 11, 19, 111, 198
Washita River—mention 59
Waterford, N. Y.—mention 213
Waterloo, Ill.—mention 215
Waters, Barney—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Watertown, Jefferson Co., N. Y.—weather reports 1816, the year of the cold summer 186
Watkins Samuel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Watrin, Rev.—Jesuit missionary priest at Prairie du Rocher, Ill., in absence of the pastor, Father Gagnon, signs records of the church 142, 143, 145
Jesuit priest at Prairie du Rocher, mention 142–143
Wayne, Gen. Anthony—(Mad Anthony) his victory at battle of Fallen Timbers 49
mention 202, 296
once occupied Fort Massac 50
ordered by Washington to repair and strengthen Fort Massac 48
Webb, Henry L.—candidate for congress 208
Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer—elected secretary and treasurer Illinois State Historical Society for 1903 4
Librarian Illinois State Historical Library; board of trustees ask attention of the Governor to her biennial report 299

Index—Continued.

Page

Weber, Mrs. Jessie Palmer—Librarian Illinois State Historical Library, mention..... 7
mention 10
Webster, Daniel—masterly eloquence of..... 11
opinion of the ordinance of 1787.....18, 19
quotation from..... 28
Weik, Jesse W.—quotation from his "Life of Lincoln".....232, 233
Weinberger (C. M.) & Co.—retail druggists in Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Weir, James—member of committee in charge of bank project at Shawneetown, Ills..... 182
Wells, Isaac—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce, Chicago, afterward gold seeker in California, anecdote of..... 271
Welton, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Wemate, J. B.—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
Wentworth, John—mayor of Chicago, mention 249
member of congress from Illinois, Chicago district supported John Quincy Adams..... 78
votes in congress against "Fugitive Slave Law"..... 82
Wentworth, "Long" John—buys Chicago Democrat 1836, and publishes same..... 237
mention..... 80
West, Emanuel J.—member of first canal board Illinois and Michigan canal..... 203
West, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
Western Hemisphere—mention 183
"Western Intelligencer"—Blackwell, (Robert) printer, preserves files of..... 186
Cook & Blackwell publishers..... 182
editorial columns of, news in.....182, 183
editorial on education published 1816..... 188
Michael Jones register of land office at Kaskaskia advertisements of, great interest to settlers and pre-emptors..... 188
newspaper, successor of the Illinois Herald, files of extant, J. H. Burnham consults at Mercantile Library in St. Louis, extracts from.....179–189
third issue of continues publication of laws and official advertisements, rewards for runaway slaves, etc..... 182
Wethers, Benjamin—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
Wheat, Ewing & Hamilton—law firm Quincy, Ill..... 123
Wheat, Jacob—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Wheatland, Indiana—mention..... 209
Wheel, Jacob—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Wheeler, Jacob—U. S. marshal southern district of Illinois..... 123
Wheeler, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Wheeler, Mrs. S. P.—address before Illinois State Historical Society on "Edward Coles, second Governor of Illinois".....97–104
mention..... 10
Wheeling, Va. — account of a steamboat explosion at, in the "Western Intelligencer". 185
distance from Fort Massac..... 53
mention..... 56
Whig Convention of Ill.—Springfield, 1840, mention..... 226
Whiteacre, David—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
White & Schoen—retail druggists of Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
White County, Ill.—mention..... 180
new county formed from, named Hamilton, mention.....202–203
White Court House—post route, mention..... 188
White, George T.—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce & Co., later druggist in Colton, Cal. 271
White, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
White, John—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
White, Laden—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
White Mountains—mention..... 164
White, Randall—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
White, Randolph—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 176
White, Robert—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Whitehall, Greene County, Ill.—mention..... 218
Whitefield, Thomas—Chicago druggist, member of committee to draft pharmacy laws for Illinois..... 253
mention..... 251
Whitefield, (Thomas) & Co.—retail druggists, Chicago, burned out in fire of 1871..... 255
Whitehead, Robert—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Whitehead, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
"Whiteside Brigade" in Black Hawk war, mention..... 222
Whitney, Laura Campbell—wife of Charles M. Whitney and daughter of Thomas Sloo... 205
Whitten, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services..... 175
Wigwam of 1860, Chicago—mention 240, 291
Wilkerson, William—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Wilkins, Lieut. Col. John—English commandant in the Illinois country, 1768..... 47
charges against at Fort Chartres.....112, 113
of the 18th or Royal Regt. of Ireland, commands at Ft. Chartres 112
removal from office, sails for Europe.....112, 113
Wilkinson, Gen. James—his plans for protection of western frontier included occupation of Fort Massac..... 50
once occupied Fort Massac..... 50
visited Fort Massac, plans and treachery of..... 40
Will, Conrad and Susanna, his wife—deeds executed by, for land sales..... 184

Index—Continued.

Page

Will County, Ill.—mention 220
Will, Susanna—wife of Conrad Will 184
William and Mary College—Edward Coles student of 98
Williams, Daniel—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 176
Williams, George—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Williams, Lieut. Jarett—Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army 167
Williams, John—captain in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army, receives land for services 166
private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Williams, Maj. Jonathan—founder of United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., visited Fort Massac 50
Williams, Zachariah—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 176
Wilmot Proviso (The)—mention 82, 83
Wilson, John—sergeant under Clark, entitled to land for services 176
Wilson, Leonard—clerk in drug store of Clarke Bros., Chicago 264
Wilson, Capt. "Mose"—in Black Hawk war 222, 223
Wilson, Wm. of Carmi—mention 54
Wilson, Wm. L. (Billy)—account of his acquaintance with A. Lincoln in Black Hawk war 223
Windham, Greene County, N. Y.—mention 219
Windsor, Christopher—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Wine, Shibboleth, Washington County—state not given, probably Missouri 182
Winer, Mr.—druggist of Hamilton, Canada, mention 266
Winnebago Indians—mention 183
"Winning of the West," by President Theodore Roosevelt, statement taken from 45
Winsor, Justin—quotation from historical writings of 45
Wisconsin Historical Society—mention 1, 5
department, mention 5, 7
Wisconsin—mention 183, 208
northern counties of Illinois belonged to by first dividing line, mention 120
Wisconsin, State of—mention 21, 39, 70, 71, 183, 208, 273
Wisconsin River—posts on, mention 57
Wolcott, Dr. Alexander—Indian agent at Fort Dearborn, 1820 239
Wolfe, Gen. James—brilliant victory at Quebec, reference to 18
his victory at Quebec, its effect on the development of Illinois .. 86, 87, 88
mention 17, 112
Wolf's Point—name of an early settlement at Chicago 235
Woman's Club of, Freeport, Ill—marks historic spot in that city 290
Women, Creole—French and Spanish, at Fort Massac with Spanish conspirators 40
Wood, Charles—private soldier under Clark, entitled to land for services 175
Woodford County, Ill—County Historical Society, organized at Eureka 8
Woodford County, Ky.—mention 211
Woodruff, A. H—clerk in drug store of L. M. Boyce & Co 271
Wood, (fuel) Scarcity of, in Illinois—mention 162
Woodworth, J. M.—mention 251
Workman & Bowman—druggists, Montreal, Canada, mention 271
Workman, Conrad—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 176
Worthington, Capt. Edward—in Ill. Regt. Vols., Clark's army; receives land for services 166
Worthington, Mrs. Thomas—member of Committee of Illinois State Historical Society for marking historic spots in Illinois 9, 292, 293
mention 10
Wray, Thomas—private under Clark; entitled to land for services 175, 176
Wright, Wm.—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 176
Wythe, George—confidential adviser of Gov. Patrick Henry 38
Yates, Isaac—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 176
Yates, Gov. Richard—county judges of the State of Illinois pay respects to by calling on 10
Illinois State Historical Society extends thanks to Governor Yates for hospitality 9
invitation given the Illinois State Historical Society by Governor Yates to attend a reception 4
reception to Illinois State Historical Society given at Executive Mansion by Governor Yates 9
mention 8, 11, 124, 299, 301
Yates, Mrs. Richard—county judges of the State of Illinois call on and pay respects to ... 10
honorary member Springfield Chapter, D. A. R. 297
invitation given the Illinois State Historical Society to a reception 4
Illinois State Historical Society extends thanks to Mrs. Richard Yates for hospitality 9
reception to Illinois State Historical Society given at Executive Mansion, by 9
Yates, Richard, Sr.—anti-slavery leader in Illinois, but of southern birth 83
Yellow Banks—settlement at 63
Yorktown, Va.—surrender of, mention 289
Young, John—sergeant under Clark; entitled to land for services 176
Young, Richard M.—member standing committee, to assist in collecting data of Illinois. 14
mention 70
Young, Thomas—captain Ill. Regt. Vols. Clark's army; entitled to land for services 166
Zibert, Anthony—called La Montague, mention 140, 141
called La Montague, child of baptized 146, 147
Zibert, Helen—marriage of, in the church of St. Ann of Fort Chartres 140, 141
Zibert, Thomas—son of Anthony Zibert, baptism of 146, 147
Zinc Mines of Illinois—profits of 37
Zinc ore—in JoDaviess Co., its varieties, increase in value, etc 35, 36
Zimmerman, Frederick—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 176
Zuckledz, William—private soldier under Clark; entitled to land for services 176

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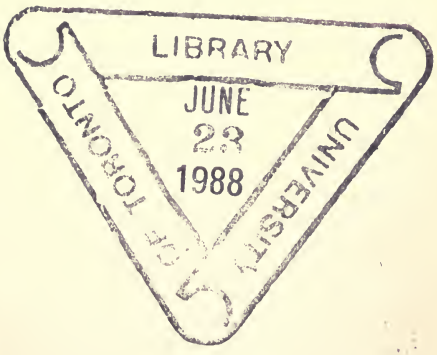
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